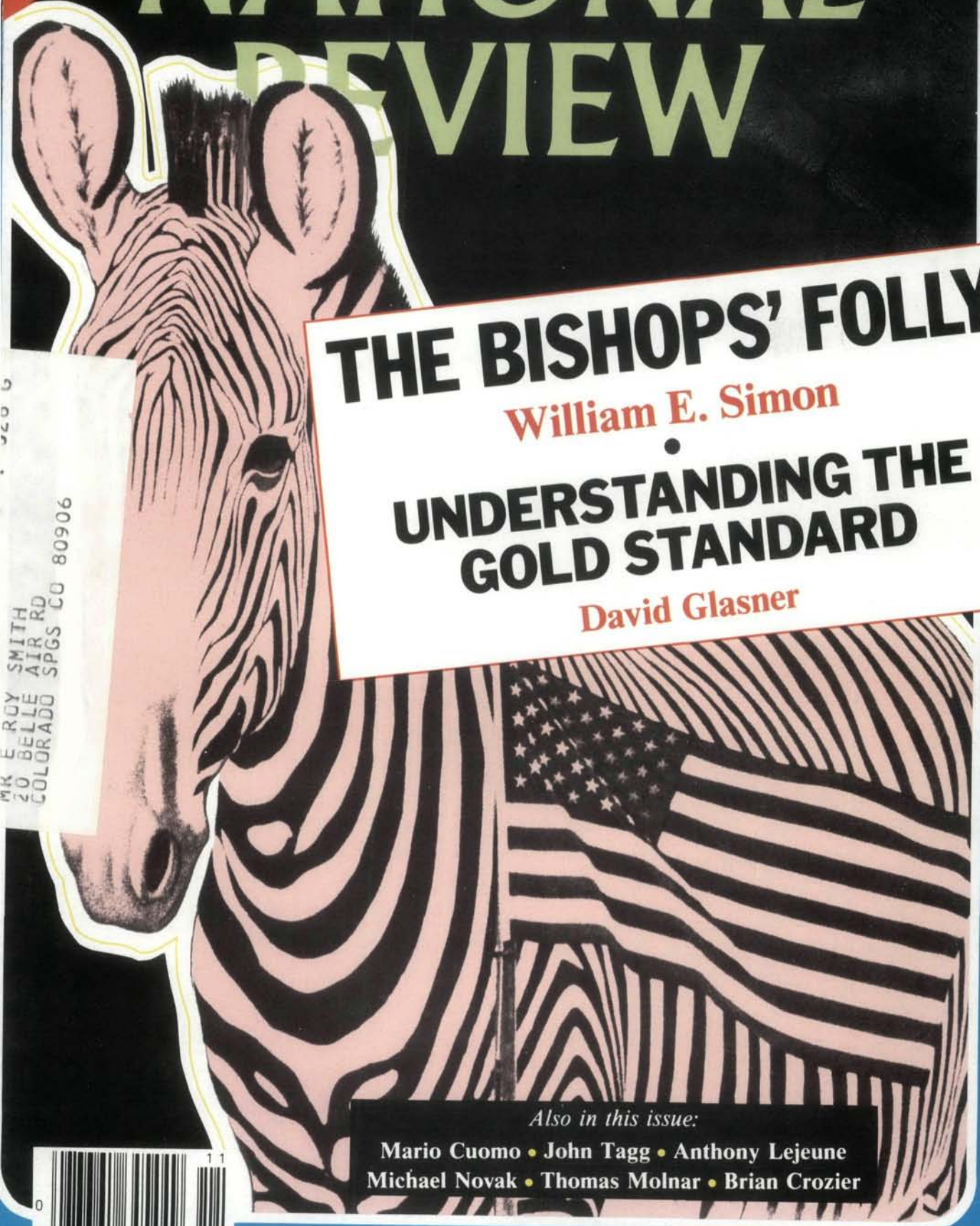
$1.50

APRIL 5, 1985

Wm. F. Buckley Jr. on
GUTSY PAT BUCHANAN
—See page 62

# NATIONAL REVIEW



## THE BISHOPS' FOLLY

William E. Simon

•

## UNDERSTANDING THE GOLD STANDARD

David Glasner

*Also in this issue:*

Mario Cuomo • John Tagg • Anthony Lejeune
Michael Novak • Thomas Molnar • Brian Crozier

MR E ROY SMITH
20 BELLE AIR RD
COLORADO SPGS CO 80906

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*Jackie West (white coat), Industrial Safety Engineer, and other Sun employees who are volunteer firefighters in Marcus Hook, Pa.*

**SUN, SAFETY AND THE VOLUNTEERS.** At a moment's notice, Jackie West is ready to trade his Sun safety helmet for that of a fire captain. He's just one of the Sun people from our Marcus Hook, Pennsylvania, refinery who serve their local communities as volunteer firefighters.

As Jackie can tell you, the safety training they get while producing millions of gallons of Sunoco gasoline each day makes them experts at fire prevention.

"At the refinery, one of our most important jobs is safety. We train and drill regularly. In fact, Sun sends some of us to special firefighting schools.

"It's only natural that we use this experience to serve our families, friends and neighbors."

At Sun, we think putting our energy back into the community is just as important as getting it out.

# WHERE THERE'S SUN THERE'S ENERGY.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

APRIL 5, 1985
VOL. XXXVII, NO. 6

# NATIONAL REVIEW

GLASNER 25

SIMON 28

MARKMAN 44

MOLNAR 48

## THE COVER

**25 Understanding the Gold Standard**
Would a gold standard limit the quantity of money the Federal Government or the banks could issue? Would it aggravate our balance-of-payments problem? Some surprising answers. *David Glasner*

**28 The Bishops' Folly**
The U.S. Catholic bishops' statement on the economy was composed by a canon lawyer, a linguist, a philosopher, a theologian, and a pianist. It shows. The statement doesn't just fail to give answers: It never even asks the right questions. Instead of seeking to generate wealth, it tries to achieve a putatively "just" distribution of deprivation. The dismal science was never so dismal, or so unscientific. *William E. Simon*

## ARTICLES & COLUMNS

**32 Scargill Caves In**
There won't always be a British coal strike. The Iron Lady has beaten the coal baron. *Anthony Lejeune*

**36 Making Distinctions**
The Governor of New York answers criticisms recently leveled against him in these pages, and is answered in turn. *Mario M. Cuomo & John Tagg*

**40 Papandreou's Roller-Coaster Foreign Policy**
He's a friend to Yasir Arafat and General Jaruzelski. He said KAL flight 007 was on a spy mission. Yet his government has signed a long-term agreement allowing U.S. military bases—"bases of death"—to remain on Greek soil. Welcome to the bizarre world of Andreas Papandreou. *Richard C. Carpenter*

**44 Classifying the Races**
Now that affirmative action is here, can a Racial Classification Review Board be far behind? *Stephen J. Markman*

## BOOKS ARTS & MANNERS

**48** **Thomas Molnar** praises Alistair Horne's sympathetic study of *The French Army and Politics, 1870–1970*. . . . **Kathleen Christison** ponders James Adams's study of *The Unnatural Alliance* between South Africa and Israel. . . . Did the Earl of Oxford write Shakespeare? Charlton Ogburn Jr. seems to have convinced **Joseph Sobran**. . . . There are literary virtues other than polish, says **Robert Royal** in commending Mario Puzo's *The Sicilian*. . . . **Loxley F. Nichols** assays a hyper-Southern novel by Olive Ann Burns. . . . **D. Keith Mano** sizes up a novel about a Wall Street Taoist. . . . If film were purely visual, says **John Simon**, *Witness* would be a winner. . . . "Moldy fig" **Ralph de Toledano** revels in an *olla podrida* of jazz.

**4** LETTERS
**12** FOR THE RECORD
**14** THE WEEK
**23** FROM WASHINGTON STRAIGHT
**24** THE PROTRACTED CONFLICT
**34** help
**45** ABROAD
**46** TOMORROW AND TOMORROW
**59** THE RIGHT BOOKS
**62** ON THE RIGHT
**66** TRANS-O-GRAM

Cover design by Colleen Lawlor
Cover photo by Jan Lukas

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. and additional mailing offices. © National Review, Inc., 1985. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editors, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc. to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile.

*RATES: $34.00 a year (25 issues). Add $6.25 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NR
NATIONAL REVIEW

William F. Buckley Jr. *Editor*
William A. Rusher *Publisher*
James P. McFadden
*Consultant to the Editor*

*Editors*
Richard Brookhiser / James Burnham
Jeffrey Hart / Joseph Sobran
Priscilla L. Buckley *Managing Editor*

*Executive Editors*
Linda Bridges *Assistant Managing Editor*
Kevin Lynch *(Articles)*
John McLaughlin *(Washington)*
Chilton Williamson Jr.
*(Books, Arts & Manners)*

*Associate Publisher*
Edward A. Capano

*Contributing Editors*
Tom Bethell / Brian Crozier
Werner J. Dannhauser / W. H. von Dreele
Nika Hazelton / D. Keith Mano
Michael Novak / Walter Olson
William F. Rickenbacker / John Simon
Ernest van den Haag / Timothy J. Wheeler

*Associates*
David Brooks / Catherine M. Shea
Jane Buckley Smith / Lacey Washington
Ione Whitlock

Frances Bronson *Executive Secretary*
Dorothy McCartney *Research Director*
John J. Virtes *Librarian*
Colleen Lawlor *Art Director*
Anna Lieber *Production Editor*
Dorothy B. Humanitzki *Copy Editor*
Rose Flynn DeMaio *Treasurer*

*Advertising Director*
Robert F. Sennott Jr.

*Circulation Manager*
Sylvia Wolinsky

*Contributors*
Aram Bakshian Jr. / Ruth Berenson
David Brudnoy / John Chamberlain
Mona Charen / John R. Coyne Jr.
Dinesh D'Souza / M. Stanton Evans
Mary Gauerke / George Gilder
Victor Gold / Donald Hall
Malcolm Hancock / Henry Hazlitt
Charles R. Kesler / John Kiley
James Jackson Kilpatrick / Nicholas King
Jan Lukas / Forrest McDonald
Charles Burton Marshall / Thomas Molnar
Gerhart Niemeyer / Grover Rees III
Joseph A. Rehyansky / Alan Reynolds
Selden Rodman / Francis Russell
Morrie Ryskind / Michael A. Scully
Terry Teachout / Ralph de Toledano
S. L. Varnado / Charles Wallen Jr.

*Foreign Contributors*
Anthony Lejeune *London*
Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn *Munich*
Donald Coxe *Toronto*
Nena Ossa *Santiago*
Robert S. Strother *Cuernavaca*

# LETTERS

## On the Level

I don't usually get around to writing letters to the editor, but William Manchester's article ["Reflections on Egalitarianism," March 22] got my dander up, just because I agreed with so much of it. I'd be chortling along at one of his well-aimed thrusts, and then he'd hit me with something like a comparison of Jack Kennedy to "the legends of Siegfried, Balder, Arthur, and Osiris" (that's pitching it just a *little* steep, is it not?) or with what appears to be a cheap shot at Ronald Reagan.

Also, I had the uneasy feeling that he might—like his opposite in other respects, the man he quotes as warning his fellow teachers that they were " 'in danger of considering themselves as just a little bit better' than unskilled workers"—be confusing intellectual brilliance with moral admirability. Alas, far too often, the two don't go together.

Still, the substance of his complaint is undeniable—levelers can only level down, not up, and at what cost in terms of beauty, dignity, and even freedom! Also, one forgives much to a man who can write: "The Luddites are remembered with contempt, not because they were losers, but because they tried."

*Betty Henderson*
*Whittier, Calif.*

## The Restless Respond

I have long wondered why the system comes down hard on relatively compliant and often inadvertent lawbreakers such as taxpayers and businessmen, while applying lenient, slap-on-the-wrist justice to vicious, violent, and predatory criminals. Joseph Sobran ["The Natives Are Restless," Feb. 22] makes it clear: The liberal regime "feels threatened more by recalcitrant taxpayers, who threaten its lifeline, . . . than by mere muggers and rapists."

Of course! The Establishment responds harshly to seemingly harmless errors, omissions, deficiencies, technical violations, and protests because, with respect to these infractions, the Establishment perceives *itself* as a *victim*. The Establishment practices, often with little regard for what constitutes "reasonable force," *self-defense*.

*L. R. Docks*
*San Antonio, Tex.*

Thank you for Joseph Sobran's perceptive and illuminating piece on the Bernhard Goetz case. Despite his excellent analysis of the situation, Mr. Sobran fails to note some practical points about Mr. Goetz's actions. New York City's inane handgun-possession laws aside, Goetz made a couple of blunders that (unfortunately) might have left him in deep trouble had he been tried.

First is the question of the logic of Mr. Goetz's going for his pistol. Experts on the use of deadly force contend there are two types of fear for one's life: "Reasonable fear" (i.e., "They're coming after me") is considered legal justification for the use of lethal force. "Raw fear" ("What if they come after me?") is not considered legal justification for the use of lethal force. From what the press has told us of the case, Goetz never saw a weapon; nor did his "assailants" address him in an assaultive fashion. That's raw fear, and the average court would find that Goetz had overreacted.

Mr. Goetz's second mistake was one of judgment. According to reports, the four youths fled when Goetz's pistol appeared; at that moment, Goetz became the attacker, the punks his victims. Shooting one's fleeing assailants in the back might strike most of us as a great idea, but the law says Goetz had no reason to shoot once the four men ceased to pose an *immediate* threat to his safety.

In the long run (to use Mr. Cuomo's phraseology), unless some realignment of the legal system occurs wherein the rights of the victim are regarded more highly than those of his assailant, the Goetz case will likely prove damaging to any law-abiding citizen who desires the protection of a handgun.

*Jonathan J. Ward*
*West Columbia, S.C.*

I would like to be one of what I assume will be many readers to congratulate Mr. Sobran for his article.

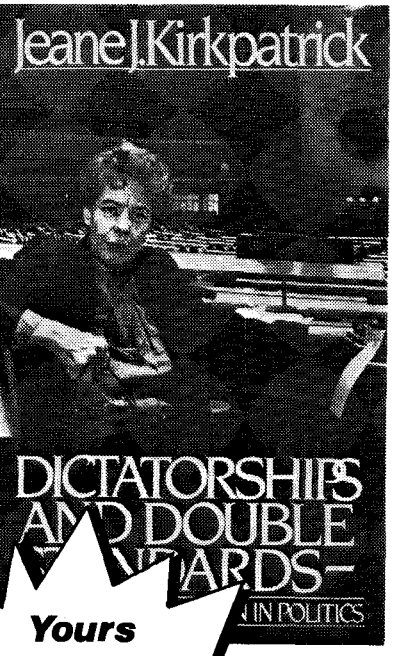
In my estimation it is the best dissection of the liberal cancer to appear in *NR* in the 25 years I have been reading it. The article should be memorialized at every gathering of those who are serious about the success of the second American Revolution. For we cannot be reminded enough either of the moral/political outrages committed by liberalism or of the moral outrage that we cannot



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# When a former aide to Hubert Humphrey writes a book about liberal hypocrisy, that's news. When her book digs deep, down to the very roots of the liberal worldview, that's IMPORTANT

**"How can it be," asks Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, "that persons so deeply committed to the liberation of South Vietnam and Cambodia . . . were so little affected by the enslavement that followed their liberation? Why are Western liberals — who often are such smart people — such slow learners about Communism?" Our outspoken UN Ambassador answers this riddle in one of the most searching critiques of liberalism since Burnham's *Suicide of the West.***




Yours FREE!

Have you been reading about how the liberals still buried in the State Department keep sniping at Ambassador Kirkpatrick? They spread vicious rumors, lose no opportunity to wield the stiletto. They want the lady out of the way.

***Small wonder, when she says things like . . .***

★ How the liberals consistently help Marxists get power in the Third World. The media's role. ★ Disaster, thy name is Jimmy. A comprehensive review of the wreck Carter left. ★ The difference between Communists and autocrats. Why the U.S. can properly help the latter, but not the former. ★ The Soviets in Cuba: dug in far deeper than most realize. ★ The *real* problem in El Salvador (knee-jerk liberals haven't even scented it). ★ The fatal flaw of every liberal. ★ *Is* there a silent majority of conservatives? ★ How the McGovern reforms infected the *Republican* Party. ★ What happens when a nation turns its back on tradition. ★ The famous essay that caught President-to-be Reagan's eye.

**If the feisty UN Ambassador had simply run through the dismal leftist track record, that would make this a valuable book. But she takes us inside the liberal mind. Her warning: It's a wrecking ball, and it's swinging wildly, out of control.**

## *Did you ever dream you'd hear our Ambassador to the UN saying the unmentionable?*

- "Our times seem especially hospitable to bad ideas, probably because, in throwing off the shackles of tradition, we have left ourselves especially vulnerable to untried nostrums and untested theories."
- "The failure of the Carter administration's foreign policy is now clear to everyone except its architects, and even they must entertain private doubts from time to time about a policy whose crowning achievement was to lay the groundwork for a transfer of the Panama Canal."
- "Assisting 'change' did not lead the Carter administration to undertake the destabilization of a *Communist* country. The principles of self-determination and nonintervention are thus both selectively applied. We accepted the status quo in Communist nations (in the name of 'diversity' and national autonomy), but not in nations ruled by 'right wing' dictators or white oligarchies."

## How to get this new $14.95 book FREE

### How the Club Works

Every 4 weeks (13 times a year) you get a free copy of the Club Bulletin, which offers you the Featured Selection plus a good choice of Alternates — all of interest to conservatives. ★ If you want the Featured Selection, do nothing. It will come automatically. ★ If you don't want the Featured Selection, or you do want an Alternate, indicate your wishes on the handy card enclosed with your Bulletin and return it by the deadline date. ★ The majority of Club books will be offered at 20-50% discounts, plus a charge for shipping and handling. ★ As soon as you buy and pay for 3 books at regular Club prices, your membership may be ended at any time, either by you or by the Club. ★ If you ever receive a Featured Selection without having had 10 days to decide if you want it, you may return it at Club expense for full credit. ★ Good service. No computers! ★ The Club will offer regular Superbargains, mostly at 70-90% discounts plus shipping and handling. Superbargains do NOT count toward fulfilling your Club obligation, but do enable you to buy fine books at giveaway prices. ★ Only one membership per household.

### CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB

15 Oakland Avenue • Harrison, NY 10528

Please accept my membership in the Club and send me, free and postpaid, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick's outspoken new book, ***Dictatorships and Double Standards.*** I agree to buy 3 additional books at regular Club prices over the next 18 months. I also agree to the Club rules spelled out in this coupon.

**NR-68**

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Freedom to change, Brady style

BRADY

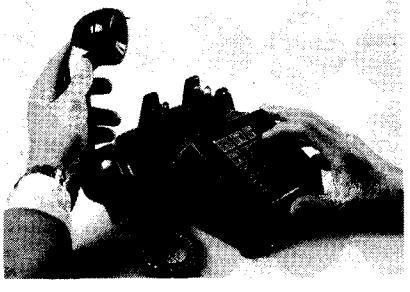
™ ADHESIVE AND GRAPHICS CHEMISTRY

Despite the many ways government at all levels increasingly intrudes in our business and personal lives, we still enjoy more freedom than most of the rest of the world.

Like *freedom to change,* just as Brady has recently done with its own corporate identity. In order to make businessmen more clearly aware of who we are, and what we do, two steps have been taken.

• First, development of a new corporate signature, logo, symbol and slogan. You see it above, and you'll soon be seeing it in our ads, packaging, letterheads, signs, and calling cards.

• Second, a colorful new corporate brochure that tells you who we are, how we got started and what we make, and where we make and sell it. We'll be pleased to send you a copy.



*Brady LiteTouch™ low voltage membrane switches combine contemporary graphics and solid state electronic technology in a sealed package. Just one of many innovative Brady products for industry and business. Perhaps you'll see a place to put Brady to work in your company as you review our new corporate brochure.*

WBC-6

BRADY

™ ADHESIVE AND GRAPHICS CHEMISTRY

W. H. BRADY CO.
727 W. Glendale Avenue
P. O. Box 571, Milwaukee, WI 53201


help feeling at those offenses against our country.

I regret only that Mr. Sobran doesn't add what ultimately must be added to his superb indictment of liberalism: that the payment of trillions of dollars to those ideological blackmailers has been only a down payment of their total bill—the destruction of capitalism immediately and of Western democracy ultimately.

*Richard L. Williams*
*Glendale, Calif.*

I enjoyed Joseph Sobran's article, "The Natives Are Restless." He clearly illustrates the hypocrisy of the liberal philosophy and reminds us of the damage it has inflicted on our society. There is one aspect of the article that I did not like, however.

I am Jewish and conservative. I fail to understand why Mr. Sobran needed to include supposed Jewish resentment of Christmas activities in the same paragraph with feminists, homosexuals, and black kids with blaring radios. This is a guilt-by-association technique and a cheap shot.

*Charles H. Beck*
*Gaithersburg, Md.*

## Courting Trouble

Your account of the Admiral Metcalf affair ["The Week," March 8] is fallacious. The difference in punishments awarded is the result of different offenses. The seven soldiers and Marines disobeyed direct orders not to bring back "war souvenirs"—especially in the form of automatic weapons; Admiral Metcalf was under no such orders. Further, the admiral did not smuggle the weapons but rather openly requisitioned them for official use (no potential for black-market sale here).

Another point which should be made is that there is a difference between senior officers and NCOs—one gives the orders, the other carries those orders out. You may impugn the senior officer's judgment in giving an order or taking a particular action; you court-martial the NCO who fails to carry out his or her orders. Admiral Metcalf deserved no more than the caution he received, and probably less. The Customs regulations should have been reviewed, but, failing that, a brilliant officer's career should not be ended. Different offenses warrant different punishments, and each offender deserves to have his case examined in consideration of its attendant circumstances.

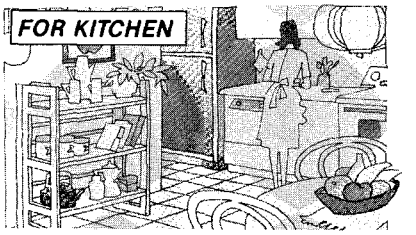
*Captain Albert Gidari, USMC*
*Springfield, Va.*

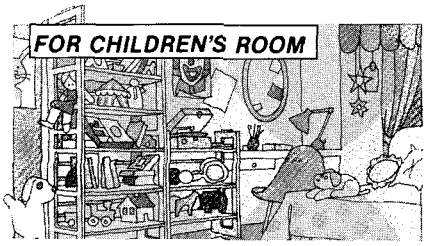
→

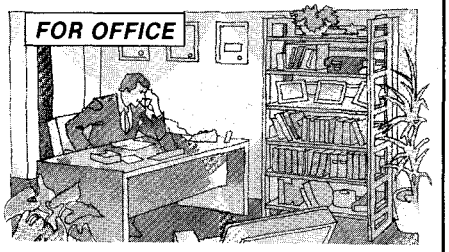


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Organize and decorate with the beauty of natural beech wood stackable shelving




## Design your own shelving arrangement in minutes...

Natural beech wood is attractive unfinished, so the unit can be used immediately (of course, you can finish it if you prefer).

Each free-standing unit is 27¼"w x 11½d x 37"h and is designed to interlock and stack securely. This means you can easily create your own wall unit. And if you move, just fold them down and take them with you.

**30-DAY MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE**
Every item you purchase from Barnes & Noble by mail must meet your standards...If not, return it within 30 days for a full refund.

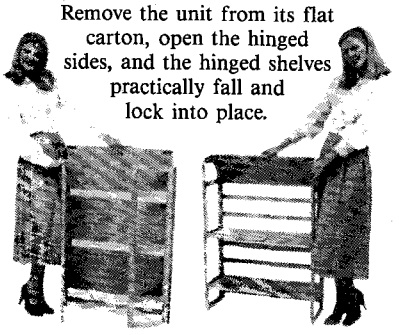
## Imagine buying tough, sturdy beech wood shelving at a price you would expect to pay for plastic!

The Spacemaker Stack-A-Shelf® is so versatile it fits comfortably in any room or office...even in a closet. And best of all, it sets-up in seconds without tools!

Get things organized and out of the way. From toys to plants, from stereo equipment to books... everything has its place on these beautiful space-making units.

***Sets up in seconds without tools!***

Remove the unit from its flat carton, open the hinged sides, and the hinged shelves practically fall and lock into place.



**FOR FASTEST SERVICE**
Credit Card Customers call
Toll Free-24 hours-7 days a week

**1-800-228-3535**
IN NEBRASKA 1-800-642-9606

**BUY MORE SAVE MORE**

4 or more ONLY **$29.95** each #1256841

2-3 units ONLY **$34.95** each #1256833

1 unit ONLY **$39.95** each #1066108

SINCE 1873
**Barnes & Noble**
BOOKSTORES

Dept. H215, 126 Fifth Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10011

Please send me _____ *Stack-A-Shelf unit(s) at* $_____ each (see price chart), plus $6.95 shipping and insurance per unit. N.Y. & N.J. residents, please add sales tax.
Enclosed is my check/money-order/charge for $_____

☐ MR.
Name ☐ MS. _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Please charge to my: ☐AMEX ☐VISA ☐MASTERCARD

Acct.#_____ Exp. _____

Signature _____

Offer good only in the continental U.S.A.

**AVAILABLE BY MAIL ONLY**

© 1985 Barnes & Noble Bookstores, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Announcing...

**a very special edition of William F. Buckley Jr.'s *Atlantic High***

Communications Distribution, Inc., has acquired the original manuscript of Mr. Buckley's best-selling book *Atlantic High*, and is proud to announce the availability of a unique collector's edition. One page of the original manuscript, typed by the author and corrected (by hand, with his usual red-ink pen), is included with each copy of this special edition. It consists of an original first-run copy of *Atlantic High* itself, handsomely bound in fine leather and stamped in gold, which is encased in a sturdy box covered in white sailcloth (just like the real thing). The box contains a large pull-out drawer in which you will have the manuscript page—autographed by the author—in a plastic cover; you may preserve the page in this cover, or remove it easily for framing. The handsome original four-color dust jacket of *Atlantic High* is also enclosed in the drawer—it can also be framed.

Each boxed copy of this special Manuscript Edition is therefore unique; the owner will be the *only* one to possess that particular manuscript page. We believe such an edition is a first in publishing history. The cost is $300 a copy, while they last (obviously the supply cannot exceed the limited number of original pages). You may order now direct from the address below.

*Write to:*
**Communications Distribution, Inc.**
*150 East 35th Street*
*New York, New York 10016*


## Clerical Capitalism

I found an interesting quote that might embarrass a few Catholic bishops [cf. "On the Right," Feb. 22] in Bertrand de Jouvenel's "The Treatment of Capitalism by Continental Intellectuals," which is included in *Capitalism and the Historians*, edited by F. A. Hayek (First Phoenix Edition, 1963), pp. 105-106:

"It is perhaps a fact worthy of notice that the modern use of profit, expansion from retained earnings, arose and was systematized in the monasteries; the saintly men who ran them saw nothing wrong in extending their holdings and putting new lands under cultivation, in erecting better buildings, and in employing an ever increasing number of people. They are the true original of the nonconsuming, ascetic type of capitalist. And Berdyaev has truly observed that Christian asceticism played a capital part in the development of capitalism; it is a condition of reinvestment. It is tempting to mention that modern intellectuals look favorably on the accumulation of wealth by bodies . . . bearing a public seal (nationalized enterprises), which are not without some similarity to monasterial businesses. They do not, however, recognize the same phenomenon when the seal is missing."

*John R. Sheffield*
*Lawrence, Kan.*

## Musical Notes

In a recent review of the volume *On Freedom*, which contains a short piece of mine, Mr. Chilton Williamson Jr. ["The Right Books," March 8] finds my parallel between jazz and freedom unpalatable. He calls jazz "hedonistic music" (a disputable adjective) and affirms that the *Eroica* or Verdi could better express the firmness of values necessary to animate freedom-fighters. I don't know whether in Napoleon's field hospitals the wounded whistled the Funeral March with the same emotions as they whistled the "St. James' Infirmary" in World War II. What surprised me, however, was Mr. Williamson's faulting jazz for spawning rock—"that clangorous orgy of robotic copulations . . ." I do not deny jazz's parentage of rock: The musicological genetics and textural coordinates are obvious. I wholeheartedly share his contempt for the rock subculture. However, I am at a loss to see how a failure to engender a flawless progeny makes the parent a villain and how David has to be condemned for Absalom, Lear for Regan and Goneril, and Henry II for all his sons.

*Leopold Tyrmand*
*Rockford, Ill.*

→



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# ANYBODY CAN PUBLISH THEIR WORKS. WHY DID WE?

**And why did Newsweek call this collection "the most important book-publishing project in the nation's history"?**

**For years, other nations have published standard editions of the collected writings of their major authors–but we have not. Important works by many of our great writers have gone out of print or have been available only in expensive, hard-to-find editions. Until now.**

In an unprecedented publishing event, The Library of America brings you the first national edition of the collected works of America's foremost authors in an authoritative, uniform series priced within reach of every reader.

*For the first time in our history,* you can own and enjoy all of Melville, all of Hawthorne, Twain, Emerson, Whitman, James, Poe, Thoreau–and the collected writings of many other notable American novelists, historians, poets, philosophers, essayists and statesmen. Each compact, elegant book contains from 1,000 to 1,600 pages and includes a number of works by the same author.

**Books that will last for generations**

These superbly constructed books, are printed on acid-free paper, handsomely bound in cloth, and come in attractive protective slipcases. Quality bindings assure that these books will last for generations.

**Enjoy our nation's great literature at significant savings**

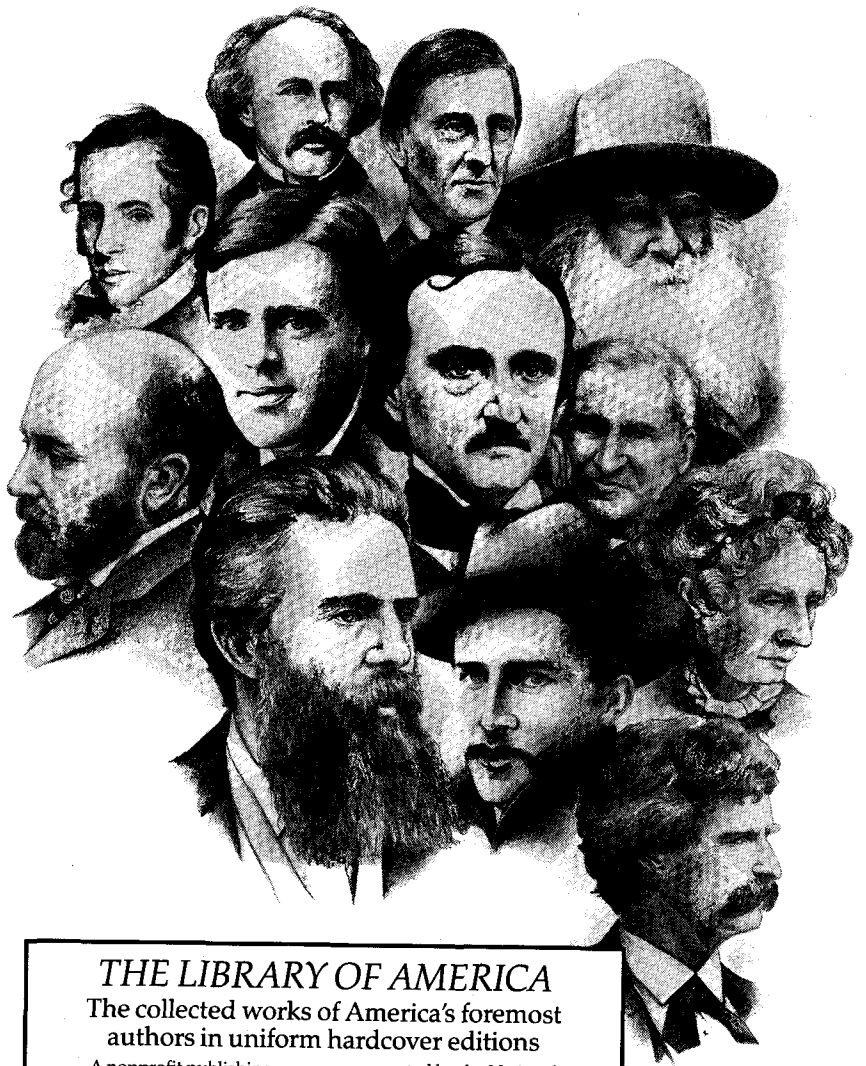
As a subscriber to The Library of America, you can begin your own personal collection of works by America's most important authors–volume by volume, direct from the publisher, at savings of up to 27% off the retail price.

**Examine the first volume for 15 days–*free***

If you are satisfied, keep it and pay only $21.95 plus shipping and handling. Thereafter, you will receive additional volumes, one approximately every other month for your examination.

**Begin your collection with Edgar Allan Poe's *Poetry and Tales***

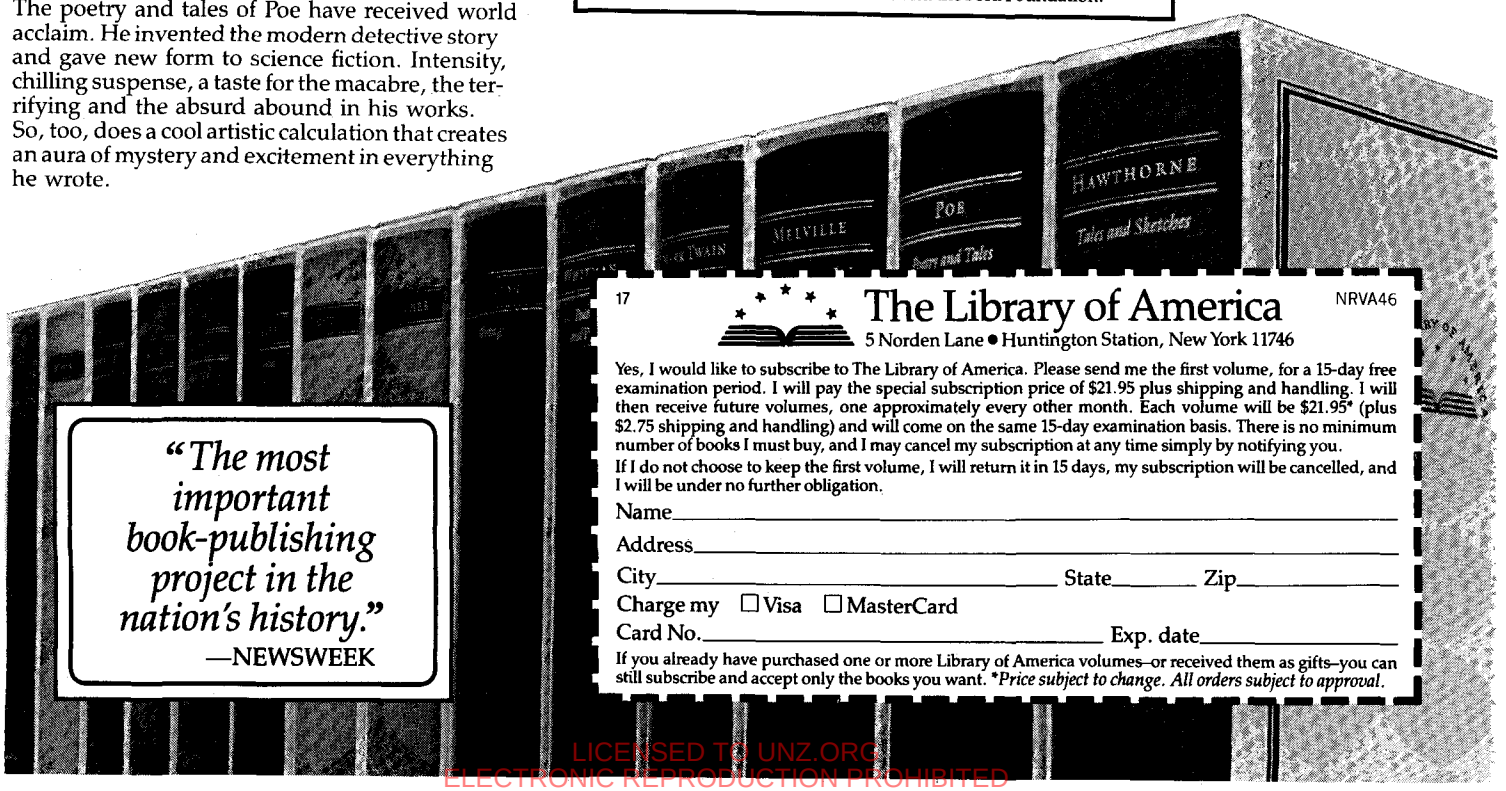
The poetry and tales of Poe have received world acclaim. He invented the modern detective story and gave new form to science fiction. Intensity, chilling suspense, a taste for the macabre, the terrifying and the absurd abound in his works. So, too, does a cool artistic calculation that creates an aura of mystery and excitement in everything he wrote.



*THE LIBRARY OF AMERICA*

The collected works of America's foremost authors in uniform hardcover editions

A nonprofit publishing program supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Ford Foundation.




*"The most important book-publishing project in the nation's history."*
—NEWSWEEK

17

## The Library of America

NRVA46

5 Norden Lane • Huntington Station, New York 11746

Yes, I would like to subscribe to The Library of America. Please send me the first volume, for a 15-day free examination period. I will pay the special subscription price of $21.95 plus shipping and handling. I will then receive future volumes, one approximately every other month. Each volume will be $21.95* (plus $2.75 shipping and handling) and will come on the same 15-day examination basis. There is no minimum number of books I must buy, and I may cancel my subscription at any time simply by notifying you.

If I do not choose to keep the first volume, I will return it in 15 days, my subscription will be cancelled, and I will be under no further obligation.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

Charge my ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard

Card No._____ Exp. date_____

If you already have purchased one or more Library of America volumes–or received them as gifts–you can still subscribe and accept only the books you want. **Price subject to change. All orders subject to approval.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE

# university

**The University Bookman** is a quarterly edited by Russell Kirk. Each issue is devoted to the restoration and improvement of the standards of higher education in America. Most of the articles for this quarterly concentrate on two topics: the reviewing of university and college textbooks; and the sensible criticism of educational theory and practice today. Every **National Review** subscriber, living in the U.S.A., gets **The University Bookman** free. Others may subscribe at **$5.00** a year. Subscriptions and editorial correspondence should be sent to:

# bookman

**The University Bookman, P. O. Box 3070, Grand Central Station, New York, N.Y. 10017**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I'm pleased to see NATIONAL REVIEW providing a forum for debate on a much misunderstood subject—rock music. I am a young (under 25) conservative who understands rock better than John Simon and thus feel more qualified than he to give an opinion on the subject. Also, I am not a complete ignoramus regarding "classical" music, that music which has been deemed to have merit by the conventional intellectual wisdom, and which Simon and others like him presumably prefer.

You printed a letter from Kay Rubin Kinney [Feb. 22] in response to Simon's rather bigoted comments on both the music and people who listen to it. Now, I myself don't think much of the Talking Heads in particular. They are pretentious and hardly in a league with Mozart. With this qualification, I wholeheartedly and enthusiastically agree with Mrs. Kinney's comments.

Not all rock music is gibbering adolescent idiocy, and not all lovers of rock are gibbering adolescent idiots. Simon et al. have committed the error of prejudging a category on the basis of a biased sample. The good rock music—the intelligent, creative, and tasteful rock music—almost never makes it to kiddie radio, to be overheard by adults.

A note to Mr. Russell ["Letters," Feb. 22]: The concert mob scene in fact antedates rock 'n' roll. Have you never read of the premier of *The Rite of Spring*?

*Neil Rowland Jr.*
*Framingham, Mass.*

A letter in the February 22 issue of *NR* accuses middle-aged America of turning its back on rock music because of cultural snobbery. The problem, unfortunately, isn't quite that simple.

Most music written during the 1920s, '30s, and '40s was written for everyone to enjoy—young and old. So it was universally popular. But that is not true of rock music. Most of it is obviously written to appeal to those who are emotionally in the 12- to 15-year age group. Note the loud sound, the cacophony, the monotonous beat, plus the childish inanities of the musicians and singers. If writers of music today expect middle-aged Americans to listen to their music they will have to write something that has universal appeal. The music of Mozart was and is popular because it can be enjoyed by everyone, not just a limited segment of the population.

*F. Walters McWright*
*Loveland, Colo.*

## Johnson's Genius

Robert Royal's otherwise interesting and informative review of the new biography of Belloc [Jan. 11] contains three badly mistaken assertions about Dr. Johnson that ought not to go uncorrected, as they are not only false but damaging. In ascending order of importance: Johnson no longer—if ever he did—"survives mainly through Boswell"; he is not a genius "now largely unread"; and he was emphatically not "religious in eccentric ways."

Only those unfamiliar with Johnson and with his place in the contemporary canon and teaching of English literature transmit these misconceptions.

*M. D. Aeschliman*
*San Cresci, Tuscany*
*Italy*

Dr. Johnson and Hilaire Belloc were indisputably orthodox Christians in belief, but occasionally eccentric in religious argument and behavior. Johnson's melancholy, his strong fears of death and hell, and the very ferocity of his wit sometimes led him astray. That was what I meant by "religious in eccentric ways." Mr. Aeschliman is right to call attention to this unclear and too brief characterization.

Johnson's literary reputation has been rising in recent decades. This is just, and I am glad of it. But to judge from Aeschliman's essay on Johnson that appeared in the same issue of *NR* as my review, he overestimates both the extent to which Johnson is read and his "place in the contemporary canon." Though I share Aeschliman's love for the great doctor, A. N. Wilson is certainly right that Belloc resembled Johnson in that he was "universally believed to be a genius by his intimates, but leaving no one literary work by which this belief could be sustained." I have often thought that Johnson accused himself of idleness out of some intuition of never having written a work that completely engaged his great powers.

*Robert Royal*
*Arlington, Va.*

## Thanks

I want to thank you for publishing "The Persecution of Edward Rozek" [Feb. 22]. I know that his friends, who are legion, are tremendously grateful to you for setting out the full story of the harassment to which a great man was subjected over several years. Edward Rozek is one of the most courageous figures in the ranks of conservatism. He deserves a salute from all who believe in the values and ideals of our country.

*Anthony Harrigan*
*Sewanee, Tenn.*

27th year

Nicola Paone

ITALIAN RESTAURANT

"As for favorite restaurants, in New York, at Nicola Paone, if you are a nice, conservative, appreciative guest, he will shower you with the best food, wine, and service in the world."
—*William F. Buckley Jr.*

LUNCH 12–1:30 DINNER 5–9:30
MONDAY–FRIDAY
SATURDAY DINNER ONLY
Private room available

**207 East 34th Street • New York**
**(212) 889-3239**

*Jacket and tie required*

**GIANT HEAVY DUTY INFLATABLE BOATS**

**2 MAN $38**
**3 MAN $50**
**4 MAN $65**

*Call Free*
*Before Midnight For The Next 30 Days*

As part of an advertising test, *Dunlap Boat Mfg.* will send any of the above size boats to anyone who reads and responds to this test before the next 30 days. Each Boat Lot No. (Z-26 PVC) is constructed of tough high density fabric (resistant to abrasions, sunlight, salt & oil), electronically welded embossed seams, nylon safety line grommeted all around, heavy duty oar locks, 3 separate air chambers for extra safety (4 air chambers in 4-man), self-locking safety valves, bow lifting & towing handle and are recommended for marine, ocean and fresh water recreation, camping, fishing or a family fun boat. Each boat will be accompanied with a **LIFETIME** guarantee that it must perform 100% or it will be replaced free. Add $7 handling & crating for each boat requested, *Dunlap Boat Mfg.* pays all shipping. If your order is received within the next ten days you will receive FREE a combined hand/foot inflator/deflator bellows style pump for each boat requested. Should you wish to return your boat you may do so for a full refund. Any letter postmarked after 30 days will be returned. LIMIT three (3) boats per address, no exceptions. Send appropriate sum together with your name and address to: Boat Dept. #755, *Dunlap Boat Mfg.*, 2940 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90006. Or for fastest service from any part of the country call 1-800-824-9988 for Boat Dept. #755 (Calif. residents call collect 213 735-9363), before midnight seven days a week. Have credit card ready.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# FOR THE RECORD

Get ready. The folks who gave us **Yuri** ("The Liberal") **Andropov** are doing the same for **Mikhail Gorbachev**. "If expectations prove correct," said a *New York Times* dispatch from Moscow after **Chernenko**'s death, "[the Gorbachev] leadership will be more open, perhaps, less obsessively suspicious, less burdened with memories of Stalin's terror and the war." . . . Soviet analyst **George Kennan**, who never fails to see the bright side in Kremlin doings, thinks Gorbachev selection will "produce a much higher order of vigor, flexibility, and thoughtfulness in the leading position." . . . Gorbachev already has a fan club in Britain, which he visited last December. After the visit, British Prime Minister **Margaret Thatcher** commented: "I like Mr. Gorbachev. We can do business together." **Neil Kinnock**, leader of British Labour Party, has probably spent more time with Gorbachev than any other Western politician, and Kinnock has already aligned himself with Gorbachev's negative view of U.S. "Star Wars" technology. . . . But one Briton is not a fan. **Peter Reddaway**, a senior lecturer in political science at London School of Economics, said: "Some very silly things were said about [Gorbachev's] being a liberal . . . when he visited here, but you just don't get into the Politburo being a liberal. . . ." In his first statement after being tapped to succeed Chernenko, Gorbachev showed a lot more Leninism than liberalism: "People abroad who hold the same views as we may rest assured: In the struggle for peace and social progress the party of **Lenin** will, as always, closely cooperate with fraternal Communist, workers', and revolutionary-democratic parties."

Shailo, London *Daily Telegraph* / Rotheo

*"Exchange-rate-wise, honey, they certainly speak our language."*

So far second-term **Reagan** White House is much feistier than first. Reagan's veto of farm bill, accompanied by his emphatic warnings about bloated budget, was one example. White House is also ready to go to the mat for MX, aid to Nicaraguan *Contras*, and Strategic Defense Initiative. Some attribute Reagan's new zest for battle to his changed staff. **Donald T. Regan**, new White House chief of staff, is far cry from **James Baker**. Regan, said a White House aide, "basically reinforces" Reagan, while Baker and **Richard Darman** and **Michael Deaver**, the inner circle in first-term White House, tried to tone him down. Now Baker and Darman are gone (to Treasury) and Deaver will be going in April. After Deaver goes, Regan and **Patrick Buchanan**, new White House Director of Communications, will have even freer hands. . . . New White House mood is so contagious it has apparently gotten to **George Shultz** over at State, who has become a Sandinista-basher. . . . **Jeane Kirkpatrick**, tough talker of first Reagan Administration, leaves her UN post at end of March, but she has big news planned for April. That's when she is expected to follow in Reagan's footsteps: change her party affiliation from Democratic to Republican. Mrs. Kirkpatrick, a Maryland resident, may seek Senate seat now held by liberal Republican **Charles Mathias**. . . . The GOP may pick up a seat in next year's Senate race in Louisiana now that **Russell Long** has announced his retirement. Representative **Henson Moore**, a Republican, is now favorite in that race. **Kevin Phillips**, citing Louisiana race, says GOP has solid chance in 1986 of picking up two or three Senate seats now held by Democrats. Biggest cloud on GOP horizon, says Phillips, is farm-state vote: "If farm deterioration continues, a half-dozen farm-state GOP senators up in 1986 could draw strong Democratic opposition." . . . **Richard Nixon** is doing his part to cut deficit. Nixon has told Treasury Secretary Baker that he is "declining Secret Service protection from now on." The cost to the government of protecting Nixon, **Gerald Ford**, **Jimmy Carter**, and **Lady Bird Johnson**, widow of **LBJ**, comes to about $26 million a year. Nixon's move will save government $3 million a year. . . . **Robert Dolan** has resigned as chairman of Young Americans for Freedom amid charges that he used YAF funds for improper purposes. **Terrell Cannon**, who was elected to succeed Dolan as chairman, has requested a "comprehensive report" on YAF's finances. But Cannon is on record with a denial that Dolan misused funds; he attributes Dolan's departure to philosophical differences. Two days before his resignation, Dolan appeared on stage with President Reagan at Conservative Political Action Conference. . . . The GOP's chances in 1986 have already gotten a boost: conservative political strategist **Clif White** is recovering nicely from triple-bypass heart surgery performed at the Mayo Clinic. . . . Fourth annual *Good Housekeeping* poll of most admired men and women tilts to the right. Top three women (in order): **Nancy Reagan**, **Mother Teresa**, **Phyllis Schlafly** (Jeane Kirkpatrick is fourth). Top three men: RR, **Jerry Falwell**, **Billy Graham**. **Jane Fonda**, who used to turn up in these polls, is a no-show.

While Mikhail Gorbachev was popular with London press, his wife was an even bigger attraction. **Raisa Maksimovna Gorbachev**, a "philosophy" teacher at Moscow University, drew some fetching comparisons. One British paper called her "Soviet realism's answer to Princess **Diana**" and another called her the "**Bo Derek** of the Steppes."



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# The price of looking it up just went *way down*!

While most unabridged dictionaries sell for unabridged prices—$50, $60, $70—this 2,300-page Webster's costs only $19.95. Through a special arrangement with the publisher, we are now able to offer this $69.95 value at a 70%—or $50—markdown from the original price! Now, you can bring this widely respected reference into your home, office, or classroom. And just look at what the Webster's contains:

- Over 320,000 Words
- More than 3,000 Illustrations
- 19 Encyclopedic Supplements
- A Thumb-Indexed Format

### This Standard Reference Has Over 320,000 Words

For more than 40 years, the Webster's comprehensiveness has made it *the* standard reference. With over 320,000 words and phrases, the *Webster's New Universal Unabridged Dictionary* continues that great tradition. The Webster's defines common and obscure words, words used in other centuries and words newly created in the sciences and the humanities.

### More Than 3,000 Illustrations

GIANT PANDA (6 ft. long)

The Webster's is strong on visuals, too. Finely detailed pen drawings appear throughout the text, and there's a full section of color-plate illustrations of plants, animals, airplanes, ships, and more. These illustrations help make the Webster's a fun, visually exciting learning experience, especially for children.

### 19 Encyclopedic Supplements

Other dictionaries may contain a few supplements, but the Webster's has over *150 pages* of specialized information for every interest. Here are just *some* of the categories and features included.

- 9 Large, Full-Color Maps
- Dictionaries of Place Names and Geographical Features
- A Dictionary of Biography
- Dictionaries of Names from the Bible, Myths, and Fiction
- A Dictionary of Commonly Used Abbreviations
- Forms of Addresses
- The Basics of Practical Math
- Commonly Used Financial and Commercial Terms
- A Dictionary of Foreign Words and Phrases

### A Tradition of Quality

Concise, correct, complete definitions have been the hallmark of the Webster's since the distinguished philologist Noah Webster published the first edition in 1806. The Webster tradition of quality also extends to its format and organization. The pages are thumb-indexed for handy reference. While other large dictionaries use eye-straining type, the Webster's features good-sized print, with defined words standing out clearly in boldface. To make reading easier still, each definition is listed on a separate line or set of lines.

### We Repeat: $19.95 Is An Unbeatable Value

An *unabridged* dictionary that sells for $19.95 is a rare find, especially when the dictionary bears a famous name like Webster's. And, as with anything you buy by mail from us, our **30-day money-back guarantee** means that if you decide to return this dictionary within 30 days, we will refund your money *in full*.

SINCE 1873
**Barnes & Noble**
BOOKSTORES
126 Fifth Ave., Dept. W229 N.Y., N.Y. 10011

**1189398.** Please rush me____copies of the Webster's New Universal Unabridged Dictionary at your special sale price of $19.95 (plus $3.00 shipping & insurance per volume.) N.Y. and N.J. residents: Please add sales tax.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____

State_____ Zip_____

Offer good only in the continental U.S.A.

FOR FASTEST SERVICE
Credit Card Customers Call
Toll Free-24 hour 7 days a week
**1-800-824-6200**
EXT. 229

✓Check One
☐ Payment enclosed
☐ I prefer to charge this purchase to:

☐ AMERICAN EXPRESS Card ☐ VISA ☐ Master Card

Account# Exp.

Signature

© 1985, Barnes & Noble Bookstores, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# THE WEEK

☐ There is room for optimism over the accession to power of Mikhail Gorbachev. He has never been directly linked to the shooting of the Pope.

☐ Even after more than four years in office, the Reagan Administration still can't bring some federal agencies under control. Senator Weicker and colleagues, for example, won't confirm anyone with Reaganite views to the board of the Legal Services Corporation. So the LSC chugs right along, despite a record of grantee illegality and scandal that, as a new Cato Institute study demonstrates, makes back-alley Naples look as pure as Winnetka, Illinois. Over at the Consumer Product Safety Commission, deregulators have yet to gain a majority because the normally sound Senator Kasten has been blocking the appointment of conservatives. Come on, senators. Sure you have a right to advise and consent, but so do the voters.

☐ Abortion advocates (and practitioners) are reacting to the film *The Silent Scream* in a predictable way: by moving into liberalism's no-hard-proof mode of tactical agnosticism. "There is no evidence," says a doctor from Yale's medical school, that the fetus shown being aborted could feel the pain Dr. Bernard Nathanson, who narrates the film, imputes to it. If it comes to that, we can't really *prove* that the doctor who uttered these words isn't a humanoid-looking robot sent from outer space. But it stands to reason that a good many of the million and a half fetuses killed annually in the United States do feel pain, and in the case of late-term abortions one can hardly doubt that the suffering is extreme. It says a lot that the Party of Compassion, usually on the lookout for hard cases, should so resolutely turn away from these.

☐ It took almost a year, but Margaret Thatcher outlasted the miners' strike, which collapsed when the miners, getting nowhere, went back to work last week. [See "Scargill Caves In," p. 32.] Their Marxist leader, Arthur Scargill, had been demanding that uneconomic pits be kept in operation not only for the present work force but for their descendants. Power-generating plants, meanwhile, switched to North Sea oil, and the lights stayed on. Five years ago, Mrs. Thatcher told her mentor Friedrich von Hayek that the major obstacle to British economic health was the power of the big unions. With her victory over the miners she has made a major advance toward breaking that stranglehold.

☐ Robert Mugabe runs Zimbabwe with the support of the Mashona, the country's largest tribal grouping, while the Matabele support his rival, Joshua Nkomo. With elections due this spring, the drums of Africa are pounding: cars and buses burned, a couple burned alive, clashes with clubs and axes. Nkomo charges that Mugabe's forces have kidnapped three hundred of his supporters. The tribal mayhem just to the north has been far from unnoticed in South Africa.

☐ When the Communists took over China in 1949, Maryknoll missionaries were expelled (or martyred). Today the missionaries have themselves converted, and the Maryknoll order works for Communist victory. Its prime success to date is Nicaragua, where the Foreign Minister, Miguel d'Escoto Brockman, is a Maryknoll priest and former head of Orbis Books, the order's publishing house, which specializes in books on liberation theology. The newly elected men's superior general of the order, Father William Boteler, says he keeps in touch with Father d'Escoto by phone, and describes him as "not a Marxist or a Communist." (The Jesuits, meanwhile, have expelled Father d'Escoto's colleague, Father Fernando Cardenal, who is currently Nicaragua's Education Minister.) At the recent Maryknoll convention, the president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, Bishop James Malone of Youngstown, Ohio, had warm words for the order: "Your record of distinguished, dedicated ministry in all parts of the globe is a source of enormous pride to us bishops today. I hope you know as a community, and know as individuals, that the bish-

## A Nation Hooked

Seniors cry for COLAs; kids, for student loans.
Talk about cold turkey only triggers groans.
Grandma's now a junkie waiting for her fix;
Lyndon got her started back in '66.

W. H. von Dreele



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

IN DECLINING to attend the Chernenko funeral, "Reagan missed the boat." That's the early consensus among insiders here of both conservative and liberal stripe. "It cost him two points in the polls, easy," says one Hill conservative who believes that Mr. Reagan, as practically the only allied head of state failing to attend the Moscow obsequies, also lost a half-dozen MX votes in the Senate. "Reagan could have gained so much in foreign-policy credibility," says a Republican senator. "He could have said, 'Look, I've been to Moscow. I've met with the leadership there. I've taken the temperature. It's clear to me that, yes, we've got to work together with them, but we need the MX. We need the SDI. The Soviets are tough and we've got to be tough.'" A White House Reaganite concurs, adding that it would also have been smart for Mrs. Reagan to go. "That's what the housewives of America want." So who's the winner? "Bush," says a senior RNC official. "George has done it again."

Bush is hitting home runs all around the park these days. At the recent Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC), a preference poll for 1988 showed Jack Kemp, the darling of the conservatives, defeating the Vice President by an embarrassingly thin four-point margin (39 to 35 per cent), revealing the depth and breadth of Bush's penetration into the heart of the conservative movement. Skeptics argue that the numbers mean only that Bush has "very successfully wooed inside-the-Beltway types," and that in the hinterlands "Kemp remains the clear choice of true hard-liners." Another liberal pundit agreed, saying that the poll reflects only the views of the "Old Right, the *Human Events* crowd," but that outside of Washington "Kemp is still the conservatives' main man."

Well, the skeptics are wrong. Of the 269 CPAC conventioneers polled, 75 per cent were from outside Washington, and, as a ranking American Conservative Union official notes, "The attendees were a broadly based group of Old Right and New Right." How has Bush come so far with conservatives? His loyalty to Reagan; a very public hard line on a full gamut of issues, as exemplified during his debate with Mrs. Ferraro (following Mr. Reagan's mediocre showing in his own first debate); and fear among Republicans of a "massive, bloody fight between Bush and Kemp."

Bush's cultivation of the big, powerful evangelical vote also seems to be paying off. Thus Moral Majority president Jerry Falwell surprised many evangelical conservatives (and many Washington politicos) at the February National Conference of Religious Broadcasters by broadly hinting that George Bush was his candidate in '88.

Then, in early March, when both Bush and Falwell were in Africa on separate fact-finding humanitarian missions, lo and behold their paths happened to cross in Khartoum (the Reverend Pat Robertson was there too), all of which has led Richard Viguerie to say, "Bush is no dummy. He wants to be President and he can't do it without the conservatives. He's reaching out in a symbolic way." Viguerie remains unconvinced that George is true blue.

From the evangelical perspective, there are two interpretations of the Falwell/Bush chumminess. One, Falwell may have decided that "Bush is going to get in anyway, so why not take advantage of it?" Or, Falwell has "not yet made up his mind on whom to support for '88, but wants to keep his options open." Others say that the value of Falwell's support is overrated. "Even if Jerry endorses Bush, it's not that important," argues a Christian Right leader. He notes that the evangelical vote is a "big tent" dominated by no one person, despite media portrayals to the contrary. "Falwell's a good name on the religious Right," observes this Washington-based official, but a Falwell endorsement of Bush would be "politically irrelevant because there are too many players and too many coaches in the evangelical ballpark."

John Conlan, president of the Faith-America Foundation, confirms this, claiming that Jack Kemp already has 70 to 80 per cent of the Christian Right. The problem with Conlan's view is that no one really believes his numbers, so evident are Bush's inroads into the religious Right. Put in minimalist terms, even if Bush does not now have a majority of the Christian Right constituency, he certainly has a sizable minority, probably enough to propel him into the nomination. In yet more minimalist terms (for Bush), if Kemp chooses not to run in '88, or if he bombs out early, Bush's rapprochement with the evangelicals will be an invaluable asset, assuring him of a near-bloodless nomination. —CATO

---

ops of the United States are in solid support of your work." No such statement has been forthcoming from the beleaguered bishops of Nicaragua.

□ Forty-nine states for Reagan and the response to Bernhard Goetz suggest that the Age of Aquarius is really over, another sign of which is the current popularity of Clint Eastwood in his Dirty Harry movie incarnation. John Vinocur makes the political-cultural connection in *The New York Times Magazine*: "What Dirty Harry did in the 1970s was to outrun an American political phenomenon by close to a decade. In the series involving the rebellious detective, Eastwood caught a mood of blue-collar discontent with a country portrayed in the films as being run by bureaucrats, sociologists, appeasers, and incompetents. American society's deepest incapacity, the Dirty Harry films said, was in failing to protect the normal lives of its normal people, and its most galling trait was rationalizing crime and the intolerable with guidance-counselor jargon. In the films, the country is reduced to the scale of San Francisco, and Dirty Harry roams the city, defying the bureaucracy and restoring order. Better than anything else, Eastwood as Harry transmits a mixture of irony and outrage about the fact that he, a reasonable kind of guy in a Sears Roebuck sport coat, should have to be going through all this." Dirty Harry, folks, is no Easy Rider.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

☐ You'll never guess whom *The Nation* is accusing of un-American activities, yes, un-American activities: Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. Until now, *The Nation* has never been thought of as a nativist organ. But it couldn't suppress its patriotism when that ungrateful Russian, now battening on our pastures, was quoted on Radio Liberty to the effect that the West is "hedonistic" and has "lost its spiritual health." In a featured article, complete with press release, we learn that "Solzhenitsyn's propaganda" is actually helping the Soviets—than which nothing could be more disturbing, we are sure, to the editors of *The Nation*. In a note accompanying the article, the editors mention hopefully that an investigation is under way in Washington, and that Solzhenitsyn's "extreme views" may soon be censored and Radio Liberty purged of those of his followers who have infiltrated it.

☐ True story this, not one of our little hoaxes. Government whizzes are trying to breed the indestructible cockroach. They want roaches that have developed resistance to all chemical insecticides now in use, on the reasoning that they can then develop new poisons to deal with the super-roaches, and stay one step ahead of the beasts. A search was undertaken to find the toughest roaches anywhere, which in due course came up with the HRDC strain: so named after their location in the House of Representatives, District of Columbia. It makes sense. Roaches or anything else that can survive the atmosphere in the House of Representatives must be indestructible, or close to it. But then, if congressional rhetoric can't kill them off, we have grave doubts whether the scientists will find any poisons that can.

☐ The latest twist in the legal confrontation between Yale University and *The Yale Literary Magazine* could be of importance to all conservative campus publications. On March 7, the *Lit* brought an antitrust suit against Yale, charging it with monopolizing the Yale name. (It lost its previous suit, to enjoin the university from picking on it, but is appealing that verdict.) For years, of course, Yale—and Dartmouth, and every other college—has lived cheek by jowl with motels, liquor stores, and whatever, all bearing its name. The distinction between these and conservative publications that, in the colleges' view, renders the latter offensive is that a publication, unlike the Yale Auto Body Shop, might mistakenly be seen as the work of its namesake (Bart Giamatti linked to the *Yale Lit*—heavens!). The suit charges that the distinction is arbitrary. Where bars may venture, conservatives may not be forbidden to. If *The Yale Literary Magazine* loses, it could always call itself *Giamatti's Monthly*.

☐ And what becomes of the pampered children of leading cadres in Communist China? Apparently, they engage in sex. The government recently cracked down on a "Gang of Forty"—"evil playboys unable to escape the net of justice." The gang had video recorders "to play lewd tapes, had pornographic books and pictures, and held vulgar parties to seduce women." Two were executed, 11 others will be "severely punished."

☐ Geraldine Ferraro has quite unexpectedly fallen from grace by committing her first honest capitalist act.

☐ House Speaker Tip O'Neill confesses that he too would consider committing an honest capitalist act, but not until he leaves office.

☐ In a valiant effort to find a kinder term than "handicapped," the Democratic National Committee has coined "differently abled." The committee itself shows signs of being differently abled in the use of English.

## Geneva

WINSTON CHURCHILL'S famous maxim that jaw-jaw is better than war-war is certainly true as put, but it leaves out the strategic dimension. Jaw-jaw can in fact be a version of war-war. The United States and the West will almost certainly emerge from the present Geneva arms talks weaker politically than when they went in.

That is the purpose of the talks. To be sure, the Reagan Administration probably could not have avoided participation. During the presidential campaign Reagan was on the defensive for not having negotiated with the Soviets. He successfully parried this charge by asking with just whom he should negotiate, the Kremlin leadership amounting to a hospice for the dying. But he has been under mounting pressure from our NATO allies, from Congress, and from public opinion to "talk to the Russians." When it became obvious to the Politburo that Reagan would defeat Mondale, Andrei Gromyko conspicuously visited the Oval Office, helping to generate the present momentum. It is difficult to imagine how Reagan could have resisted these pressures.

But the talks in Geneva are not "negotiations" in any sense of the word. Neither side is proposing to reduce nuclear warheads below the number sufficient to kill, say, one hundred million people. That is, no significant reduction is envisionable at all. The Soviet Union's power is based entirely on its nuclear arsenal, without which it would be a mere regional power, and a declining one at that. The Soviets have come to Geneva for one purpose, and for one purpose only: to attempt to block, politically, the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative. The Geneva "negotiations" amount to political jujitsu, part of an escalating Soviet campaign to influence our NATO allies, Congress, and public



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

opinion. The maximum goal is to block funding for SDI.

In the past, the Soviets have pursued such tactics with mixed success, winning some and losing some.

Their campaign against the neutron artillery shell, which would have tended to neutralize the Soviet tank investment, succeeded. President Carter did not deploy it.

The Soviet campaign to prevent the deployment of the Pershing II missile failed, despite massive help from within the West.

The Soviets have invested very heavily in land-based ICBMs, which they probably do not intend to fire, but which underwrite their claim to superpower status and which they employ for political bullying. The Strategic Defense Initiative threatens this huge investment. "The Soviets know that SDI will work," says Zbigniew Brzezinski. "They are hoping that we Americans ourselves will kill it."

All of military history writes its entirely scrutable message on the wall. The longbow doomed the armored knight, and artillery ended the walled city. Tanks were the answer to trench warfare, and the aircraft carrier anachronized the battleship. The ICBM has held sway for three decades, but technology is catching up with it.

During its liftoff stage, which lasts several minutes, the ICBM is a dinosaur, highly vulnerable, slow-moving, as visible to sensors in space as—in the metaphor of one scientist—a firefly in the night. The technology to combat it is progressing now at exponential rates, the necessary software designed using techniques that were unimaginable ten years ago.

Given their overinvestment in ICBMs, it is perfectly understandable that the Soviets would try to block any sort of promising defense against them. What is much less understandable is why those who were threatening us with global extinction through ICBMs —*The Day After*, etc.—would now be opposed to a defense that might well render them as out-of-date as armored knights or walled cities.

## It's Time to Parley

There's mayhem in the Cornbelt
  And blood upon the stalks;
The songs from *Oklahoma!*
  Aren't whistled during walks.
I wouldn't want to wander
  Alone behind the barn
While auctions still resemble
  The Battle of the Marne.

W. H. von Dreele

## The Heir at Last

Konstantin Chernenko is dead, presumably of natural causes. He remained a cipher to the end, a grey apparatchik whose accession to supreme power in the Soviet Union just over a year ago seemed as much a mystery to himself as to the Western world. Chernenko had emerged from the hidden reaches of the Kremlin bureaucracy under Brezhnev, whose favor initially was his only source of power. Brezhnev liked Chernenko, pampered him, promoted him, groomed him to take over—but upon Brezhnev's death in November 1982 the KGB-backed juggernaut of Yuri Andropov swept Chernenko aside, and his power and influence waned noticeably. Yuri the liberal, the lover of jazz music and Western literature, the closet reformer (as all the best press releases had it), took over with a vengeance, only to spoil the script by dying 15 months later.

The choice of Chernenko as successor to Andropov stunned Kremlin-watchers in the West, who soon advanced a conspiracy theory: The old guard, the entrenched Party apparatus, was out to undo the anti-corruption campaign of Andropov and to reassert its authority through the puppet Brezhnevite, Chernenko. Like all good Kremlinological theories, this one was based more on conjecture and whimsy than on concrete evidence. The anti-corruption campaign continued, and the old guard of the Party did not obviously regain its prominence. In fact, Chernenko made not a single appointment to a high Party post during his brief reign as General Secretary. In retrospect, he was not the cutting edge of an old-guard comeback, but simply a compromise candidate, the least common denominator of stodginess on which a divided Kremlin could settle.

Two ailing transition candidates in a row, however, were evidently all the Kremlin could endure. Muscovites were joking about buying season tickets to Kremlin funerals. Or worse: "What has twenty legs and four teeth?" Answer: "The Politburo." The prestige of the motherland clearly was at stake. So it was that upon Chernenko's death, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was selected to be General Secretary of the CPSU, at 54 years of age the one sufficiently senior candidate with a high actuarial probability of outliving the President of the United States. There is at last a viable heir to Brezhnev, a man young enough to rule the USSR for twenty years or more.

Gorbachev's rise to the top was meteoric. In 1978, he was first secretary of the Stavropol region Party committee—a faceless functionary about whom the West knew and cared little. Then came his ascent: In seven remarkable years he advanced through a series of increasingly exalted positions without a single obvious setback, culminating in his selection to head the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In a country where upstarts are favorite targets and a single mis-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

step can end a career instantly, there is almost no precedent for such a flawlessly executed and awesomely rapid capture of power. Only one example suggests itself: that of Josef Stalin.

This is not to suggest that Gorbachev will unleash a new Stalinism on Russia. But since the next several months are sure to witness an outpouring of favorable speculation and myth about Gorbachev, the example of Stalin is a needed reminder that youthfulness is not the same as open-mindedness and that raw cunning can easily masquerade as intelligence. Even Winston Churchill found Stalin to be charming, much as Margaret Thatcher found Gorbachev to be on his recent visit to London. The Mafiosi in Sicily also cultivate charm, and are said to be kindest to those they intend to eliminate.

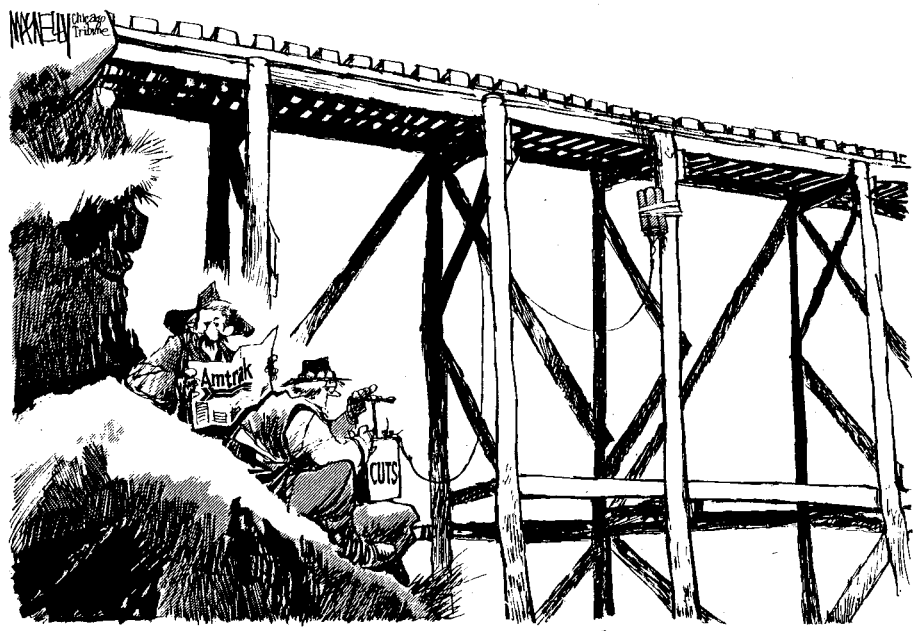
## To Save a Country

EARLY IN *Witness*, Whittaker Chambers records that his first assignment after joining the staff of the *Daily Worker* was to write an article puffing Augusto Sandino, the Nicaraguan *bandito* from whom the present Sandinista regime takes its name. The point of this little historical curiosity is that rebellion and upheaval are often "indigenous," as the liberals are so fond of insisting, especially in their early stages. But they come to the attention, and frequently under the control, of world powers very quickly. This is especially true of Central America and the Caribbean, whose proximity to our territory necessarily invites the concern of the United States and provokes, for the same reason, the ambitions of the Soviet Union.

The Sandinistas of today, of course, receive a lot more Communist direction and support than just a few *Daily Worker* editorials. There were, at last count, eight thousand Cuban "advisors" in the country, 2,500 of them openly military. The Nicaraguan army is, by many times, the largest between the Rio Grande and the Panama Canal. The Sandinistas do the Soviets favors great and small—funneling arms into El Salvador; abstaining in the UN vote on the invasion of Afghanistan. The American response, under the Reagan Administration, has been to assist the 12,000 to 15,000 Nicaraguans who have taken the field against a brutalitarian puppet government. Some of the aid has come indirectly, in the form of private contributions, or of assistance from Argentina (before the Falklands war), Israel, and possibly now Taiwan and Thailand—all encouraged by Washington. These are stopgaps; the bulk of any assistance must come from Washington itself.

It has been coming at a trickle because of the Democratic majority in the House. These were the same folks, remember, who sent a chummy letter to the junta leader, addressed "Dear Comandante." Their actions match their etiquette. The Boland Amendment, the brainchild of Massachusetts Democrat Edward Boland, forbade the spending of any money on overthrowing the Sandinista regime (it was all right to fight it, as long as we lost). The amendment expired two years ago, but Boland, Tip, and friends choked off new funds until last October. The compromise arranged at that time appropriated money for the freedom-fighters but withheld the spending of it until another vote this spring. A headline in the *New York Times* said it all: "Sandinistas Pin Hopes on Congress."

The Sandinistas have put on a PR blitz almost as vast as their armaments program. Daniel Ortega, the Commander of the Revolution, announced that he would send home one hundred Cuban advisors, big deal, and asked to meet George Shultz in Uruguay, in order to create a sham sense of movement (Shultz was not impressed). Two reports charging the *Contras* with human-rights violations appeared, perfectly timed, one from the liberal Americas Watch organization, another written with the assistance of the law firm that represented the Sandinistas before the World Court. Ortega and his deputy foreign minister, Nora Astorga, the former seductress and killer, toured the country to the plaudits of Senator Chris Dodd and other usual suspects. Archbishop John J. O'Connor, in a surprising lapse of savvy, announced from Managua that "the Church does not approve any money being used to assassinate women and children" (nei-




"Beats me, Dave.... Accordin' to this schedule it shoulda been through here hours ago..."



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ther does the Reagan Administration, as the archbishop knows). Back in Nicaragua, business went on apace. The non-Sandinista members of parliament were ordered not to communicate with Arturo Cruz, the opposition leader who left the country once he was certain that the November elections would not be free. The Nicaraguan air force has been beefed up by Soviet MI-24 helicopter gunships, the same kind as those used in Afghanistan (so freedom-fighters the world over will recognize them).

The Administration has been making its own case. The White House has been giving regular briefings on Central America that bring in 150 citizens a week. Reagan, in an interview with *Business Week*, called the Sandinistas "one faction of a revolution that . . . got in and muscled the others out," which is true, and told the Conservative Political Action Conference that the freedom-fighters "are the moral equal of our Founding Fathers and the brave men and women of the French Resistance"—hyperbolic, but also true. Meanwhile, the National Resistance, a group of key Nicaraguans—including Cruz; Adolfo Calero and Alfonso Robelo, two moderate anti-Somoza politicians; and Pedro Chamorro, the exiled editor of *La Prensa*—issued in Costa Rica a demand for a dialogue with the Sandinistas under the aegis of the Catholic Church. "If, on April 20, the national dialogue has not begun, the possibilities of a peaceful settlement to the national crisis will be considered ended."

The problems of the resistance are numerous. There are several resistance groups, which often do not get along. Their personnel range from former officers in Somoza's National Guard, to Edén Pastora, a socialist romantic. Money will not be enough. The Nicaraguans must liberate their country with determination and steadfastness of purpose. But they do need the tools for the job. The $14 million that the Administration has asked for is a low price for saving a country; and, incidentally, for removing a headache from our part of the world.

## Ronald Reagan, Public-Interest Activist

IT WOULD HAVE been easy for President Reagan to give in to the farm/bank bloc by signing the bailout bill, or to the automakers by prolonging the Japanese import quotas. When you extend bad credit to farmers, the defaults only roll around a few years later, by which time public attention has moved on to other things. And people who buy cars have no effective lobby: Both Ralph Nader and Triple-A are as tame as hamsters when it comes to defending the consumer interest in free trade.

Fortunately the President, since his re-election, has been vigorously pursuing the constitutional idea that the White House should defend the general interest against the factional and parochial interests that find an outlet in Congress. This ties in with one of the interesting features of the 1984 campaign itself, which was that the public finally recognized the Democrats as the party of special interests, leaving the GOP to pick up the mantle of the general interest. The President, a canny politician, knows the immense value of this reversal of the traditional political iconography.

The Left kept insisting last year that Reagan represented special interests just as Mondale did but somehow escaped the political backlash. But now the President is asking big business to give up investment tax credits to further the general good of lower tax rates, and Western land developers to give up water subsidies to further the general good of rational resource use. He is asking farmers, big exporters, small-town mayors—all of them Republican sorts of constituencies—to give up aid programs to further the general good of cutting the deficit. The ability to say no to "our people" when they are wrong is a rare virtue in any Administration and should be encouraged.

## Small Nuisance: Turkey Number Two

THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION mostly makes the news either when someone tries to abolish it, which President Reagan is seeking to do now, or when one of its offices is caught in another corruption scandal. The SBA's problem over the years with corruption among its employees has been more than just a run of bad luck: The SBA has a structural vulnerability to shady operators. Suppose you are handing out SBA loan guarantees. In the first place, you can never serve more than a tiny fraction of the possible beneficiaries (currently 21,000 of the 14.5 million small businesses nationwide). There can hardly be objective rules on who should receive the loans, except that the recipient should be somewhat uncreditworthy. Likewise, there is no objective way to assess the merits of a loan even after it is made. (The rate of borrower default was 39.9 per cent in 1982, though it has improved since then.) Someone has to choose who gets a windfall and who goes away empty-handed. If you were politically connected and on the make, wouldn't you pull strings to get a job like that?

Once upon a time, left-wing Democrats had a much more ambitious political objective for the SBA: to peel off small businessmen from the Republican base and bind some of them (at least) to the Democratic coalition. The agency was also supposed to stir up the presumed resentment of small business against big, as manifested in certain antitrust and trade laws. It failed pretty dismally at those objectives, too.

Some well-intentioned people worry that without the SBA the many contributions of small business would get no official sort of recognition. This is the



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Wizard of Oz theory of government: The Wizard could not give any substantive help to the Tin Man or the Scarecrow, but he could give them reassuring little documents attesting to their fine qualities. One tax cut is worth a thousand testimonials.

## Lining Up

THE WARMUPS and tryouts for 1988 have begun; began, in fact, at least as far back as last summer. Here is an early rundown of the contenders so far.

One candidacy has already folded itself up. **Lew Lehrman**, who was running hard only a few months ago, has reportedly made his peace with fellow supply-sider **Jack Kemp**. Kemp's hopes rest on rounding up the fighting Right, which honors him for his economic imagination, and will honor him still more if some sort of flat-tax proposal bearing his name becomes law. He must show that he can deal as competently with other subjects, particularly foreign affairs. (His address to the Dallas convention was a step in this direction, though it mostly seemed to prove that for Kemp, foreign affairs boils down to economics.) **George Bush**, who holds the inside track—Treasury Secretary James Baker will be toiling for him—must meanwhile try to take as much of the hard-core Right as he can along with him. He already has the support of Jerry Falwell. Ronald Reagan's endorsement, of course, is the big plum, and Reagan will be tempted to give it as a reward for Bush's undoubted loyalty. It would also very likely be a poisoned plum, needlessly embittering Bush's opposition and solidifying his image as a time-serving preppie go-fer. A point-man role on some issue of importance, like Strategic Defense, would be far more useful to him. Dark horses, such as **Jeane Kirkpatrick** and California governor **George Deukmejian**, must also be taken into account.

The Democratic field begins with three leftovers, two from the 1984 election and one from Camelot. **Gary Hart** is running hard, and may give up his Senate seat the better to concentrate on the task at hand. Some truly new ideas this time wouldn't hurt, Gary. **Geraldine Ferraro**, the Woman of Last Year, would have to unseat New York senator Alfonse D'Amato in 1986—no pushover (nor are the other hungry New York Democrats who will be wanting their shot). **Teddy** won an early victory, installing an aide as Democratic National Chairman, but the last New Frontiersman swims with an outgoing tide. **Mario Cuomo**, curiously, impresses everyone as fresh goods though his ideas on domestic matters are identical to Kennedy's, or Mondale's, zzzzz. What he thinks about foreign policy is as yet unknown, and sure to be dreadful. Look for tirades against the South African Threat; at least they will be well written. Senator **Bill Bradley** and Representative **Richard Gephardt**, co-authors of the Democrats' flattish-tax bill, are both interested in riding it to the White House. They face the problem that brought down John Glenn last year—how can anyone even semi-sensible (in Glenn's case, the good sense was confined to a few residual impulses) claw his way through the viny thickets of left-wing Democratic primaries? A possible new face (he would have to win retiring Senator Barry Goldwater's seat in 1986) is Arizona governor **Bruce Babbitt**.

Partisans of all hopefuls who fear bruising fights—which assuredly will occur—must remember the cardinal rule of nominating politics: Conflict strengthens. It strengthens candidates by giving them experience; it strengthens parties by sharpening issues and defining their identities; it strengthens and informs the voters by providing them with ample matter for their consideration. Go to it.

## The End of Socialism?

THE TINY pebbles began to roll. Then, soon, the boulders and the trees, and we were in the midst of a landslide. There was, of course, the economic disaster of the Mitterrand regime in France and Mitterrand's own repudiation of the socialist program. There was the entire implausibility of the Labour Party in England. Reagan. *The Public Interest.* In Spain, the young socialist Prime Minister Felipe González officially repudiated Marxism and recognized that "individual initiative" is central to a modern, increasingly high-tech economic existence. Mao's collectivist dream of China as a vast commune is now being dismantled by Chairman Deng, with an official repudiation of Marxism-Leninism as "stupid." We will reserve judgment on these developments until we see how the "correlation of forces" within China finally works out, but Deng is surely working with the grain of history.

As Peking's *People's Daily* observed, it would be absurd to suppose that the thoughts of a German metaphysician writing in Victorian London could provide detailed policy prescriptions today. But there is more to it than that.

Socialism in its varied forms was a powerful nineteenth-century vision. In part, it was a reaction to

### Embarrassing Moments

Remember Herbert Matthews? He
Once certified Fidel to be
  Above reproach.
The *New York Times*, which ran his stuff,
Now finds the man he loved to puff,
  Managua's coach.

W. H. VON DREELE



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

early capitalism and the "dark Satanic mills" of Manchester. It also tried to reclaim the lost community of agricultural Europe, what the sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies called the *Gemeinschaft*. Perhaps even more centrally, socialism as a powerful optimistic faith filled a spiritual void left by the nineteenth-century erosion of religious belief, an erosion not so much among ordinary people in the West as among the educated classes. "*The Sea of Faith / Was once, too, at the full*," Matthew Arnold wrote in "Dover Beach," "*But now I only hear / Its melancholy, long, withdrawing roar.*"

In one sense socialism is gone, discredited intellectually and, as a practical program, dead in the advanced nations of the West, *pace* Michael Harrington. It survives actively in the despotisms of the Third World, where it is, for example, killing Ethiopians. It survives, in a certain sense, in Moscow where it provides an official rationale for the privileges of the Soviet plutocracy—few of whom, probably, believe in it.

But socialism, dead as a practical program in the advanced nations, lingers on still as a dream, a sentiment of the heart, a velleity. It affects the rhetorical terms in which Cuba and Nicaragua, say, are discussed editorially. It colors assessment of U.S.-Soviet relations. Socialism is alive and well in the intellectual and spiritual darkness of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, who, themselves, seem to be living on Dover Beach.

## Ralph McAllister Ingersoll, R I P

THEY TELL a story about David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and John L. Lewis, founder of the CIO. In the mid-1930s, Dubinsky broke away from the AFL and joined the CIO. A no-nonsense anti-Communist, Dubinsky became alarmed at the influx, with Lewis's approval, of Communist Party organizers into the ranks of the CIO staff and officialdom. When he protested to Lewis at this open Communist infiltration, Lewis drawled his reply: "Well, Dave, stop worrying about the Communists. After all, who gets the bird, the hunter or the dog?"

Unconvinced by Lewis's reassurances, Dubinsky returned to the AFL. In the meantime, Lewis—a hero to the Communists because his isolationism at the outbreak of World War II paralleled the Stalin-Hitler Pact and because he had endorsed Wendell L. Willkie over the "imperialist warmonger" FDR—overnight became their villain after the Nazi invasion of the USSR in June 1941. Lewis refused to change his isolationism, so the Communists finally threw him out as president of the CIO.

A year or so later, Dubinsky ran into Lewis lunching at the Washington Sheraton. As Dubinsky left the dining room he greeted Lewis and then, with his sly, malicious grin, added: "*Nu*, John, so who gets the bird, the hunter or the dog?"

Ralph McAllister Ingersoll, who died March 8 at 84, was, in his way, the John L. Lewis of journalism. He, too, thought that he could use the Communists to achieve his ambitions as a liberal newspaper editor and publisher. In the end, they helped bring him down and also *PM*, the New York daily he founded in 1940. It had its brief moment of glory, but, with a supreme intellectual arrogance, he thought that if he played the Popular Front game—using such friends as Lillian Hellman and Dashiell Hammett as his intermediaries with Earl Browder—his liberal journalism could win a circulation and power that would give him independence.

Ingersoll was, of course, no more a Communist than was John L. Lewis. Both men merely wanted to use Communists for their ends and were willing to compromise whatever moral standards they possessed to achieve those ends. He hired Communists recommended to him by New York Communist labor leaders, thinking it would help circulation. It didn't. Yet, to his credit, he ignored Communist pressure during the Nazi-Soviet Pact and called for U.S. support of beleaguered Britain. But when Hitler attacked Stalin, the pall of Communism descended on the paper. It was an ethos summarized in Orwell's famous finding that the tragedy of the liberal intellectuals of the 1930s was that they were anti-Fascist but not anti-totalitarian.

For a brief period in 1944, when Ingersoll was off to war, *PM* allowed some non-Communist editors (including this author) to function, but when he returned, that era of relative independence ended. He didn't last, and by the end of 1946 he was out, another victim of the illusion that Communists are, as the Popular Front apologia used to have it, "liberals in a hurry."

—ARNOLD BEICHMAN

# NOTES & ASIDES

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Anent Robert Cook's analysis showing that lowering taxes on businesses reduces the proportion of taxes paid by the poor, several observations: 1) His analysis is a reflection of two factors. First, that the poor have adjustments to gross income greater in percentage than the rich. This is because some of the adjustments (and the personal exemption) are fixed-dollar amounts. Second, that the marginal propensity to consume is greater for the poor than for the rich. 2) Nevertheless, the assumption that business taxes are collected entirely from consumers and the analysis predicated on that basis is counterfactual. At first glance, one might suppose that business taxes are collected from employees,



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stockholders, creditors, and consumers alike. Actually taking a first glance at the subject known to economists as "the incidence of taxation" is far from sufficient; books have been dedicated to the subject. Murray Rothbard in *Power and Market* comes to the conclusion that holders of land and natural resources ultimately pay sales taxes. This is because the market price for any good is determined solely by the intersection of the supply and demand curves, not any costs. Thus raising sales taxes, far from raising prices in the long run, lowers profits, which, as one keeps going backward in the chain of economic transactions that are needed to produce a finished product, redounds to the disadvantage of original holders of rental properties and the like. Thus sales taxes may not, after all, be as regressive as is commonly supposed, although since the short-term effect is inevitably to raise prices that form a greater part of the poor man's income, that will continue to be the conventional wisdom. 3) Regardless of the incidence of taxation, all that we have above and in Robert Cook's piece are static analyses. Raising taxes on business or on individuals, particularly by raising marginal rates, powerfully affects the income that will be generated by rich and poor alike.

Cordially,
Joseph S. Fulda
Assistant Professor of Computer Science
Hofstra University
Hempstead, N.Y.

☐ Memo to: Bill
From: Priscilla

Jan Lukas reports that the photograph on the cover of the March 8 issue, for which he received credit, was in fact taken by Helena L. Martemucci, a talented professional photographer who happens to be his daughter. It was in a folder of photographs he had recently submitted.

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

In my reading of your magazine over the past two years, and my following of columnists in the newspapers, I have come to the realization that the fundamental difference in style exhibited by the so-called "conservative" columnists is their fascination with the parenthetical expression—be it definitely parenthesized, or set apart by commas. Some of the parenthesized comments are so long as to make the reader wonder: "When did this insert begin, and when shall it mercifully end?"

Does this aberration stem from conservatives' believing that they will be misunderstood if they do not qualify or give examples? Or does it stem from their belief that they are smarter than the unwashed, and must lead them along—herky-jerky as it may be—through their lightning-fast thought processes?

Donegan, *Punch* / Rothco

*"Negotiate? What is there to negotiate?"*

It seems to me that if it is evidence of anything, it is evidence that the thoughts being expressed are disorganized. Please help me understand this stylistic disease among conservatives of almost all types.

Sincerely,
James M. Edwards
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dear Mr. Edwards: On this question, kindly consult Fowler. Here are some excerpts: ". . . A parenthesis is a convenient device, but a writer indulges his own convenience at the expense of his readers' if his parenthesis is so long that a reader, when he comes to the end of it, has little chance of remembering where he was when it began. . . . A parenthesis may or may not have a grammatical relation to the sentence in which it is inserted. . . . It is not equally immaterial whether the parenthesis is relevant or not to its sentence . . . The very worst way of introducing an additional fact is to thrust it as a parenthesis into the middle of a sentence with which it has nothing to do. . . . Still more fatal than readiness to resort to parenthesis where it is irrelevant is inability to tell a parenthesis from a main sentence." There, then: Go out and distinguish between convenient and inconvenient uses of the parenthesis, and base your criticisms on concrete examples. Cordially, WFB

☐ Dear WFB:

It is my understanding that Janeski Fondavich, prima ballerina, has been rewarded for her performance in the Afghan countryside—by being furnished an all-expenses-paid five-year visit to a modern medical facility in the Ural Mountain region of Siberia. Why aren't we as generous with our artists?

Sincerely,
Gerald J. Urpschot
New Orleans, La.

Dear Mr. Urpschot: Because the Reagan Administration is lacking in compassion and in an appreciation of the arts. Yours cordially, **—WFB**



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# GEPHARDT'S GAMBIT

STILL IN the political intensive-care unit, the Democratic Party is looking for oxygen wherever it can find it. The telegenic and talented 44-year-old five-term Missouri congressman Richard Gephardt, now in his third month as Caucus Chairman (the fourth-ranking Democratic leadership post), is helping Democrats breathe a little easier. Gephardt's ongoing claim to fame is the Bradley-Gephardt "Fair Tax," which would limit income taxes to "14 per cent for four out of five Americans," he says. The bill is one leg of the tax-reform triad that, with the Kemp-Kasten and Regan/Treasury versions, will doubtless be amalgamated into some kind of tax-reform blancmange before 1985 is over.

Besides tax reform, Gephardt is increasingly in the limelight for his efforts to modernize the party. With Governors Charles Robb (Va.) and Bruce Babbitt (Ariz.), Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee Chairman Tony Coelho (Calif.), and Senator Sam Nunn (Ga.), Gephardt has formed the Democratic Leadership Council to try to inject fresh ideas and imagery into the ailing party, an ambitious effort probably destined for failure. In the House, Gephardt is effective at fuzzing his positions. "I don't believe in voting from a pigeonhole saying I'm a conservative or I'm a liberal," says Gephardt earnestly. "I believe in deciding issues on their merits."

Skeptics note, however, that his ADA (liberal) rating stood at 35 per cent shortly after he entered Congress and at 75 per cent last year, suggesting that besides merits Mr. Gephardt also keeps a weather eye on partisan politics. Yet Gephardt has voted against school busing, against abortion, and for poison gas (Monsanto and Mallinckrodt are both in his district, but he denies the votes were so dictated). On the other hand, Gephardt also voted in favor of the Chrysler bailout, in favor of domestic auto content (both of which pleased auto workers in his district), and in favor of the nuclear freeze.

To give you an idea of how fast is the track that Gephardt now runs on, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (his hometown paper) published a story in late February under a screamer front-page headline, "Gephardt Tests Presidential Waters," wherein evidence was disclosed pointing to genuine presidential intent on the part of the affable, sure-footed Mr. Gephardt. One indication that he is going national is his international travel. "I've been to the Soviet Union twice. I've been to the Middle East. I've been to Japan," he told me. In February, he visited Central America (including Managua) and, although somewhat critical of President Reagan, he voiced approval of the use of military force as an "ultimate" resource to contain Communism.

Some younger Democrats are sure that Gephardt will go for it. "He's struggling with the decision right now," says friend and fellow Central American junketeer Representative Mike Synar (D., Okla.). Representative Dick Durbin (D., Ill.) declares flat out that Gephardt is "a serious contestant" for 1988. The congressman himself brushes off such presidential whispers with "they flatter me" or some such. Yet, right after his interview with me, he flew up to snowy New Hampshire to give two political speeches.

GEPHARDT'S game plan is unclear, as is not unusual with him. In 1982, Gephardt kicked around the idea of running for the Senate seat of Republican John Danforth, but decided against it, calculating that Danforth was too strong. In the event, Danforth barely held on to the seat against a relatively weak opponent, feminist Harriet Woods, so it might have been ripe for Gephardt's plucking.

As 1988 approaches, Gephardt has three short-term options. First, he could run for the retiring Tom Eagleton's Senate seat in 1986. The problem here is that he would be starting behind the two-term Republican ex-governor, Kit Bond, who is already campaigning and is better known in Missouri. Second, Gephardt could challenge Jim Wright for the Speakership in 1986; Wright's support is regarded as "soft." But such a gambit would be dangerous: Not only would Gephardt be risking the animosity of many older House Democrats resentful of the youthful interloper, but other powerful and respected veterans such as Tom Foley (Wash.) and Dan Rostenkowski (Ill.) will probably be in the Speakership race. Last, and most likely, Gephardt could stand pat, hoping that his prominence as a tax and party reformer will catch the eye of Democratic kingmakers.

As for the presidential sweepstakes, what is Gephardt's potential? "If you look to the non-labor, non-black wing of the party," says a Democratic savant who prowls the Hill, "and you frame the contest in terms of blacks and labor against non-blacks and non-labor, and then you add up Glenn, Askew, and Hollings, and then you toss in the later-Hart yuppies—why Gephardt *can* do it: His appeal can reach into this pieced-together constituency and grab it." Cuomo, says the savant, is right when he states he doesn't have the "persona" for the run. Also, if you believe Cuomo's Democratic Convention speech, he stands to the left of Teddy, and that of itself rules him out. As for Hart, besides not having yet produced the beef, he has too much personal baggage, including his on-again, off-again marriage, Indian princess Marilyn Youngbird, and the still unexplained revampings of age, name, and signature.

Gephardt's best bet may be to fashion himself into a Democratic Jack Kemp, rush into the vacuum, and go for the gold. □



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# THE LONG ROAD BACK

ONE BY ONE they are coming back, on the long road from military to civilian rule. In recent months, it has been El Salvador, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil; before that, Portugal, Greece, and Spain. Each time it happens, it offers further proof for the proposition that authoritarian rule does in time yield to democracy, whereas totalitarianism is for ever, unless a friendly big neighbor intervenes, as in Grenada. (How long is "for ever"? Let us wait to see what happens in the Soviet Union one of these years.)

The habit of excoriating military rule and *coups d'état* per se, and assuming that a return to democracy is necessarily a Good Thing, is deeply ingrained: a conditioned response of the media and of politicians, though not always of the people of the affected countries. Whenever a civilian government is overthrown, Western cries of outrage are heard, regardless of the degree of corruption and irresponsibility—of sheer bad government—that prompted the military to take over in the first place.

For my part, I stick to the unpopular view that a good military government is better than a bad civilian one. Let no one, however, jump to the wrong conclusion and suppose that I necessarily prefer military to civilian rule: A good civilian government is better than a good military one. The trouble is, the good ones are so rare.

One of the main problems is that in so many countries the military yields quite readily to the temptation of seizing power from a weak civilian team, but finds it awfully hard to hand power back again. The military government that permitted free elections in Brazil the other day had held on to power since 1964—nearly 21 years. The officers who, last November 25, gave the civilian politicians of Uruguay the chance to show whether their stay in the wilderness had improved their ability to govern had been there since 1973.

In Argentina, the junta finally yielded to the pressure for a return to democracy only after a disastrous and unnecessary war over the Falklands. The other country in Latin America's *Cono Sur*—Chile—remains under General Pinochet's theoretically transitional rule, nearly 12 years after the (absolutely necessary) coup that toppled that dangerous and irresponsible demagogue, Salvador Allende.

WITHOUT TRYING to be encyclopedic, let us take a closer look at two of the countries that have recently returned to civilian democracy, each of which has its importance in the global scheme. I have in mind Brazil and Greece.

Brazil, first. If ever a military takeover was justified, this was it. The president who was deposed in 1964 was another irresponsible demagogue (that phrase does slip easily off the typewriter) named João Goulart. Although not formally a Communist, he was fast placing Communists or near-Communists in government. I interviewed his military successor, General Castello Branco, who wasted much of our time telling me how he was going to restore constitutional rule. Well, it took a long, long time.

When Tancredo Neves, Brazil's first civilian president, was elected in January, on the indirect vote of an electoral college, Brazilians filled the streets and danced the samba. But then, they would, wouldn't they? I hope they will be as happy five years from now. The new president inherits a financial mess, including a foreign debt of about $100 billion, inflation running at some 230 per cent a year, and political problems, not least the fact that he was elected with the support of the (illegal) Communist parties.

Conceivably, President Neves (who at 74 is close to President Reagan in years) will solve the problem of his political support when he calls general elections, which, however, will not be before 1988. Only the longer term will tell whether the return to civilian rule is permanent. The arbitrating function of the army is spelled out in the existing constitution (and indeed in past ones). Military activism was dictated by the rise of urban and rural terrorism, powerfully aided by Catholic "liberation theology." Clearly, the army will be watching Neves closely.

The reality of renewed civilian rule in Greece is, unfortunately, disagreeably clear. The present prime minister, Andreas Papandreou, bore a heavy responsibility for the rapid descent into political anarchy that caused the army to take over in 1967. In 1965, when his father, George Papandreou, was in power, Andreas served in his government. The Papandreous made a deal with the front party, the United Democratic Left (EDA), behind which the illegal Greek Communist Party (KKE) sheltered. A number of KKE sympathizers were appointed to positions in the Greek Central Intelligence Service, which began to spy on opponents of the Papandreous. Although Papandreou senior stepped down, a ministerial crisis followed, and the army took over.

Today Andreas Papandreou leads a socialist government that does everything it can to hinder NATO and further Soviet aims and attitudes on a wide range of issues including Poland, Afghanistan, and arms control. The Greek media, deeply penetrated by the KGB in a sweeping display of "active measures," are now largely in the service of causes hostile to Western (and of course Greek) interests. Nowhere is the hollowness of the formula, "back to civilian rule," more patent.

Until civilian politicians learn the virtues of responsibility and consideration for the national, as distinct from factional, interest, they are going to be at risk in many countries. And that could take a long time. □



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# UNDERSTANDING THE GOLD STANDARD

THE REFERENCE by last year's Republican Platform to a gold standard as a useful tool for restoring price stability was seized upon by editorialists, pundits, Democrats, and dissident Republicans as an example of the zaniness of the right-wing crowd that renominated Ronald Reagan in Dallas. What a difference a century makes. In 1896, a group of populist, fundamentalist religious zealots took over the Democratic Party, pledging, to the horror of the enlightened, to take the country off gold. Now, in 1985, a new group of populist, fundamentalist religious zealots is taking over the Republican Party, pledging, to the horror of the enlightened, to put the country back on gold.

The gold standard, once the very symbol of monetary and fiscal probity and the pillar of an international economic order, is now viewed as a kind of wild, radical experiment embraced by a band of reckless ideologues. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that the disapproval of their betters will be enough to keep the crazies from restoring the gold standard. Such disapproval didn't prevent enactment of the Kemp-Roth bill, and it won't scare off the gold-bugs. It may be time, therefore, to begin thinking seriously about how a gold standard would operate if it were adopted.

In fact, that will not be easy, because a gold standard differs so radically from our current monetary institutions that there aren't many people around—including its staunchest supporters, its most ardent opponents, or most professional economists—who really understand how a gold standard would function. Even during the nineteenth century there were sharp disagreements among experts as to exactly how the gold standard worked. Nor is it clear that those with the better understanding of how it did work had the most influence on policy.

One of the principal reasons for the confusion about the gold standard is the notion that the quantity of money determines the price level. If there is too much money, for example, increased spending is supposed to drive up prices until the higher prices absorb the excess cash. While essentially valid for an inconvertible paper currency, this relationship doesn't hold at all for a convertible money. Under a gold standard, money is convertible into gold at a fixed rate—$21.86 an ounce when we were on a real gold standard from 1879 to 1914—so the value of money is identical to the value of the equivalent amount of gold. The amount of money—bank deposits and currency—in existence is the amount the public wishes to hold given its needs for transactions balances, its total wealth, and the return on deposits and on alternative assets. As long as confidence in the maintenance of convertibility is not impaired, the quantity of money, like the quantity of any other good, is determined in the marketplace and has no impact on inflation or deflation—which can result only from changes in the value of gold. Excess money isn't spent, it is simply cashed in for gold or, more likely, returned to the banking system in exchange for alternative financial assets.

In an age of monetarism, a view that suggests that the quantity of money is unimportant for policy purposes is bound to seem somewhat strange. That is why many suppose that the function of the gold standard is to limit the quantity of money that can be issued by the government or the banking system. This notion stems from the mistaken belief that what the gold standard does is ensure that the amount of currency and deposits issued cannot exceed some multiple of the amount of gold reserves. However, all the gold standard does is enforce convertibility of money into gold at a stipulated rate; it has nothing to do with legal reserve requirements. Such requirements may or may not be desirable, but they are neither necessary nor sufficient for a gold standard to operate.

It is also asserted that under a gold standard all balance-of-payments deficits would have to be settled by gold shipments. This sounds particularly scary because of the huge balance-of-payments deficit the United States is now running. If gold outflows required a contraction of the money supply, and if a contraction of the money supply meant a declining price level, this would be very scary, indeed. But under a gold standard the money supply does not have to fluctuate with the gold stock, nor, to repeat, does the price level depend on the money supply.

Moreover, nothing requires that balance-of-payments deficits be settled in gold. Whether they are depends on whether the surplus country prefers taking payment in gold or acquiring interest-bearing securities from the deficit country.

Since our balance-of-payments deficit has arisen because foreigners want to acquire interest-bearing assets denominated in dollars, it is foolish to think they would be trying to convert these assets into gold if we were on a gold standard. Just the opposite is taking place now, since the price of gold has been falling steadily and the exchange value of the dollar rising. If anything, we should, under a gold standard, be acquiring more gold as the rest of

*Mr. Glasner is a senior research fellow at the Manhattan Institute and is the author of* Politics, Prices, and Petroleum, *a Pacific Institute book published by Ballinger Press.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

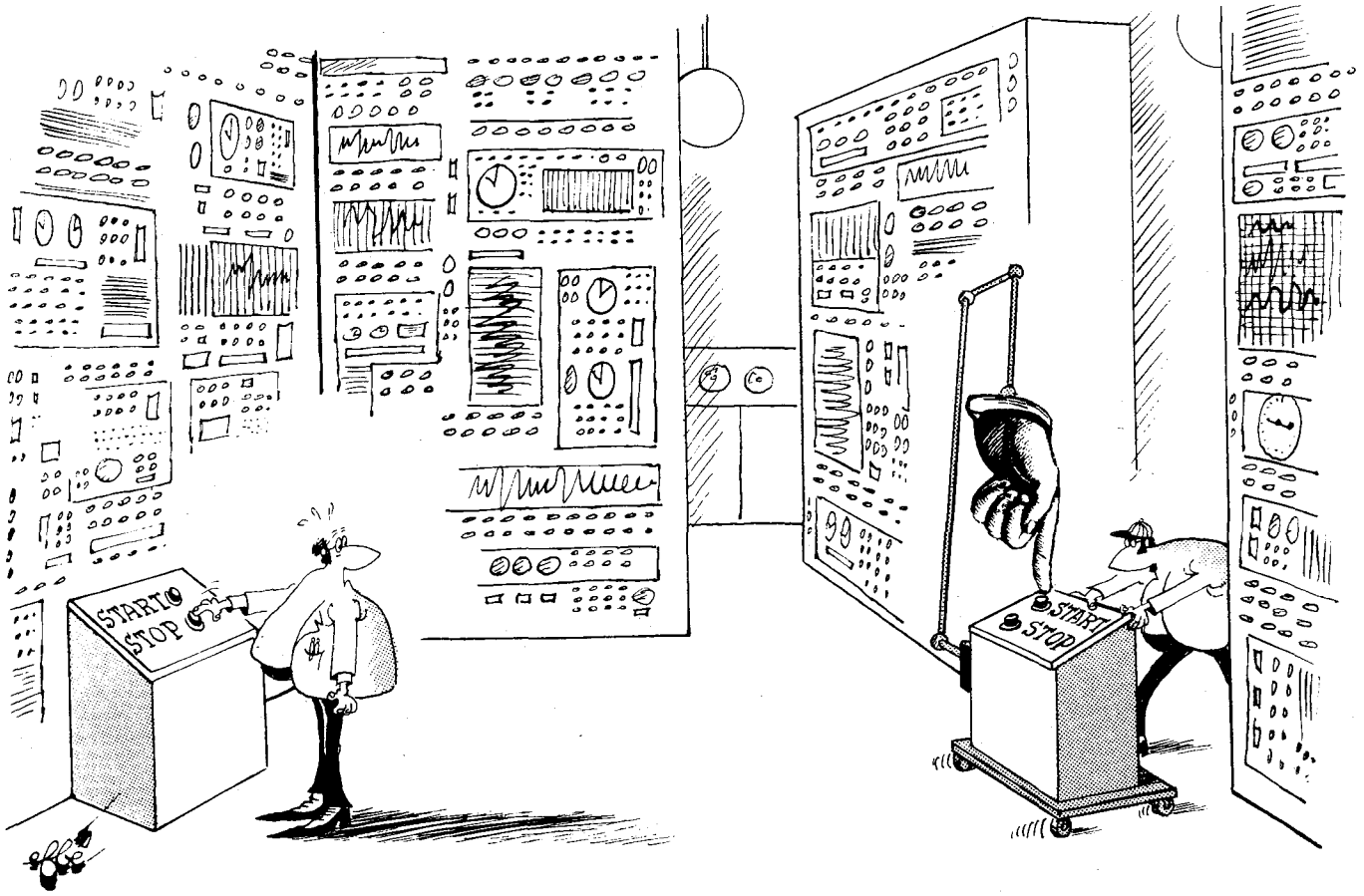
the world converted gold into dollars. Only if confidence in convertibility were impaired, so that the future value of dollar-denominated assets was in doubt, would a U.S. balance-of-payments deficit imply an outflow of gold.

Since a huge pyramid of credit is erected on a very narrow base of gold, maintaining confidence in convertibility is the crucial problem under a gold standard. In the nineteenth century, there were occasional panics when confidence in convertibility was shaken—for example, because the banks were mistrusted, or when it was feared that William Jennings Bryan would be elected and take the country off gold. As people sought to cash in their claims to gold, the resulting demand drove up its value. Under a gold standard, when the value of gold rises, the money price of everything else goes down, since money is equivalent to a fixed weight of gold. The consequence is deflation and depression.

This sequence of panic, deflation, and depression, often repeated in the nineteenth century, still colors the view of many economists and historians about the gold standard. But it should be recognized that the data about economic performance in the nineteenth century that would be needed for a meaningful comparison of the severity of economic fluctuations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are just not very reliable. We can't be sure that fluctuations under the gold standard were worse than those we experience now. Furthermore, with larger, more efficient banks and with deposit insurance, the likelihood of a return to the sort of panics and crises that occurred in the nineteenth century has been diminished.

Our present monetary system has eliminated some of the risk of panics by making currency rather than gold the base of the credit pyramid. In case of panic, the quantity of currency, unlike that of gold, can be expanded to meet the public's demand, so that the credit pyramid is not as precarious as it was under a gold standard. But with no constraint that guarantees, as convertibility did, the future purchasing power of money, our current monetary system has created a different kind of risk—the risk of high and fluctuating inflation that undermines productive saving and investment and impedes economic growth. If we don't want to undergo the risks associated with a gold standard, we should consider other reforms that would restore the confidence in the long-term stability of the price level that the gold standard used to provide.

The first requirement would be to amend the legislation under which the Fed now operates (the Federal Reserve Act, the Employment Act of 1946, and the Humphrey-Hawkins Act) to impose an unambiguous obligation on the Fed to maintain a stable price level. As things stand now, the Fed has so many legislatively mandated and internally adopted objectives from which to choose that it can justify virtually any policy it carries out in terms of at least one of them. Even if the Fed under Paul Volcker seems committed to keeping inflation low, who knows how long Mr. Volcker will be around to pursue that policy? And who knows what policy his successor will pursue? It is just this uncertainty over what the Fed's objectives and policies will be in the future that undermines the confidence of the public in stable prices. A gold standard would be one way of eliminating the public's uncertainty, but a clearly stated legislative mandate obligating the Fed to set policy so as to maintain a particular price index (such as the producers' price index) within a prescribed range just might do so too without subjecting us to the short-term instabilities associated with the gold standard. □






LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# If *you* are a Bill Buckley fan who has asked: How can I get a copy of Buckley's *Up from Liberalism*? —here's your opportunity to finally get this famous book absolutely *FREE and postpaid*!

That's right: a new 25th anniversary hardcover edition of Wm. F. Buckley Jr.'s 1959 classic *Up from Liberalism* has been released—with a brand-new introduction by the author—and it's selling in bookstores now for $16.95 (book prices are incredible these days). But if you take advantage of this special offer, you can get your own copy *FREE and postpaid*.

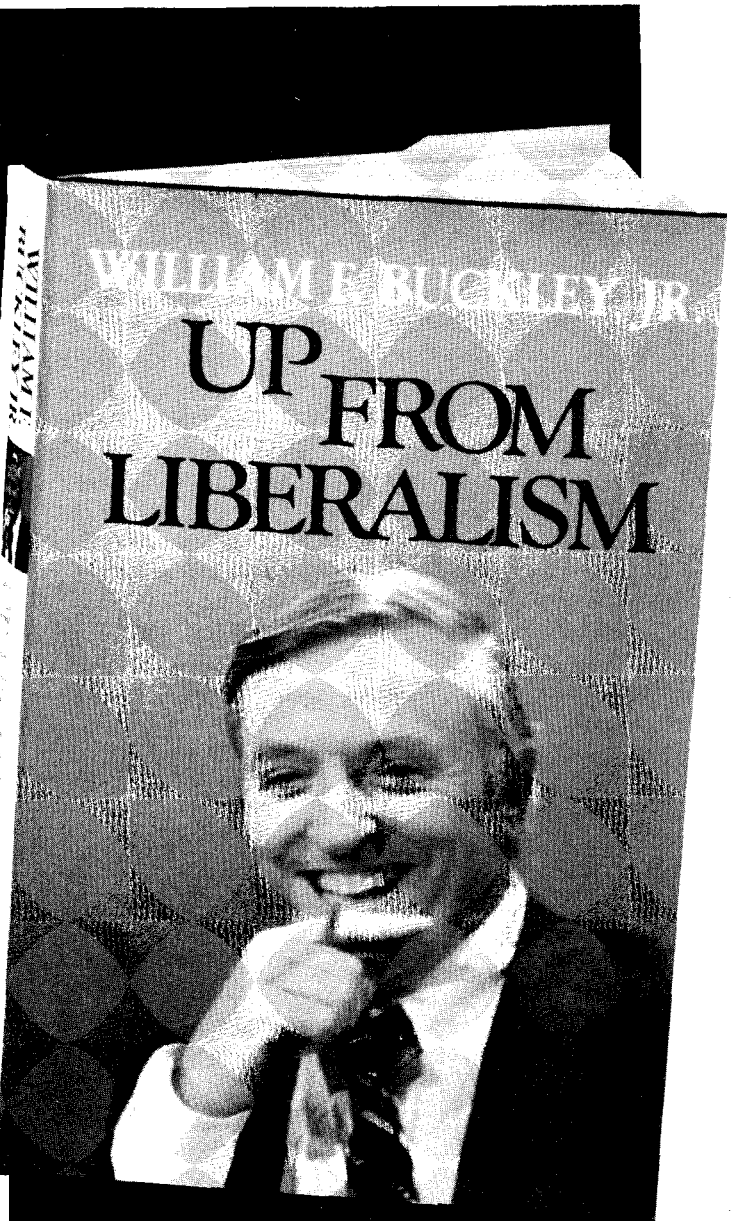
For many years now, readers have been begging us to find them copies of this famous book; many had every *other* Buckley book and wanted to complete their collection; others had heard about it and wanted their own copy. Alas, there was nothing we could do—*Up from Liberalism* was just plain out of print. Now it's back, in a handsome new edition.

And what a treasure house it is! From the original Foreword by the late, great John Dos Passos, right through to the final page (where you get Buckley's so-often-quoted "program" for keeping America free), you find a wealth of ideas and arguments that will make it plain *why* this book was such a milestone in the revitalization of conservatism. It's not just a book you'll want for yourself: you'll start thinking of lots of *other* people you will want to read it (not least those *students* you care about).

And right in the middle of this big book (pp. 101-116) you'll discover one of the greatest gems ever: the story of Paul Hughes, the fabulous confidence man who took many of the nation's most prominent (and *pious*) liberals for thousands of dollars by feeding them incredible stories about Senator Joe McCarthy (the story was *spiked* by the "major media," of course, so you'll find it here *only*—and what hilarious reading it makes!).

If you remember all the controversies and personalities of the late '50s, here's the best one-book refresher course you can find anywhere. If you're too young to have lived through it all, there's no better book to illuminate it all for you. In short, *Up from Liberalism* is a book every conservative will want to own.

Well, you can get your own copy FREE and postpaid if you will just do us the favor of using the card facing this page right now to subscribe (or renew) at no more than the regular $34 yearly rate. You'll get a full year of *National Review* (if you're renewing, we'll simply add another 25 big issues to your *current* term no matter when it is now due to expire) and this brand-new edition, both for just $34.

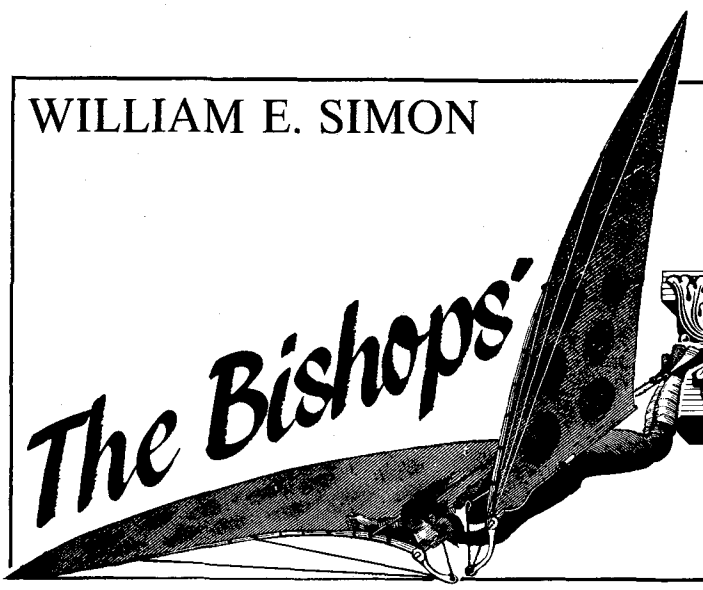



Don't delay: our supply of books is strictly limited. Use the card facing this page today before you miss out on this truly special offer. Many thanks.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WILLIAM E. SIMON

# The Bishops' FOLLY



THE LONG-AWAITED pastoral letter on "Catholic Social Teaching and the U.S. Economy" is a document remarkable for its Christian compassion for the poor and disadvantaged who exist at the margins of our affluent society. It calls us to a renewed commitment, in the name of Christ, to lifting up and healing those who are in need. But the letter is also remarkable for the gigantic leap it makes from the time-honored social teaching of the Church to the conclusion that our American economic system is in conflict with what the bishops believe to be morally acceptable. This leap is all the more remarkable in the light of human experience, which shows that economies dedicated to freedom, individual opportunity, and non-inflationary economic growth do far more to alleviate poverty and suffering than all the schemes of the social engineers and commissars of history.

Whether the five bishops who participated in the drafting process consciously intended to embrace the economic program of the Left, one cannot say. What one can say is that the background of these five draftsmen is not the sort of background that would cause one to expect from them a high level of understanding of matters economic. The five have graduate degrees, respectively, in canon law, modern languages, philosophy, divinity, and piano. They have served the Church as parish priest, missionary, prison chaplain, philosophy teacher, and monk. The record shows that none has had any experience whatever in the workings of a modern economy. Throughout their adult lives their needs have been provided for, and their careers planned by, the Church.

As an active lay member of the Church whose life has been spent mainly in the world of business, I defer to the bishops' deeper knowledge of spiritual concerns and religious mysteries, canon law and Latin liturgies. But after studying their pastoral letter on the economy, I must say that I wish they had confined their assertions to the areas in which their knowledge and authority are unchallenged.

For many years the Catholic Church has had a well-defined body of social thought, built upon three sound and timeless principles. The first is the primacy of the individual human being, created in the image and likeness of God. The second is the idea of the social nature of man: Man exists not in isolation, but in communities of his fellows. Third is the principle of subsidiarity, which declares a presumption in favor of those human systems that are closest to the people and most susceptible to their influence and participation.

The five bishops pay homage, as they must, to these three key principles of Catholic social thought. Then they head off in a direction not ordained by anything in the Bible or the teachings of the Church, but urgently advocated by the secular socialist Left. To alleviate the evils of unemployment, the bishops advocate government job programs. To replace independent decision-making by millions of individuals, the bishops advocate government planning. To correct the "morally unacceptable inequalities of income and wealth," the bishops demand aggressive government redistribution. As they do so, they offer a ritual protest against the perils of collectivism, against which the Church has many times inveighed; but one gets the feeling that their collective heart is not in it.

The key concept of the letter is what the bishops call the "preferential option for the poor." They are dismayed, as all just and humane men and women should be, by the spectacle of the poor suffering in the midst of affluence. They are incensed by the "marginalization" of the poor, the pushing of the poor to the far edges of the community's life and concern. They laud the self-realizing nature of work and lament the plight of the unemployed. The cause of these problems, they believe, is an economic system built upon selfishness and covetousness, which are sinful in the eyes of the Lord. That system—our system—is, so they believe, in conflict with the demands of morality and justice.

A society that would be just and humane should indeed be judged by the condition of its poor and disadvantaged. In their desire to bring about such a society, however, the bishops propose nothing less than a thorough politicization of the private economy. "Economic rights" are to be conferred upon everyone—by whom, and against whom enforceable, we know not. These rights are apparently not conferred in return for the acceptance of any obligation. "Economic democracy" is to be instituted, although it is never quite clear just what that implies. A "social mortgage" is to be imposed on private property. A vast and comprehensive system of national economic planning is to be established, to ensure that workers get a "just wage,"

*Mr. Simon, former Treasury Secretary of the United States, is chairman of Wesray Corporation in Morristown, New Jersey.*



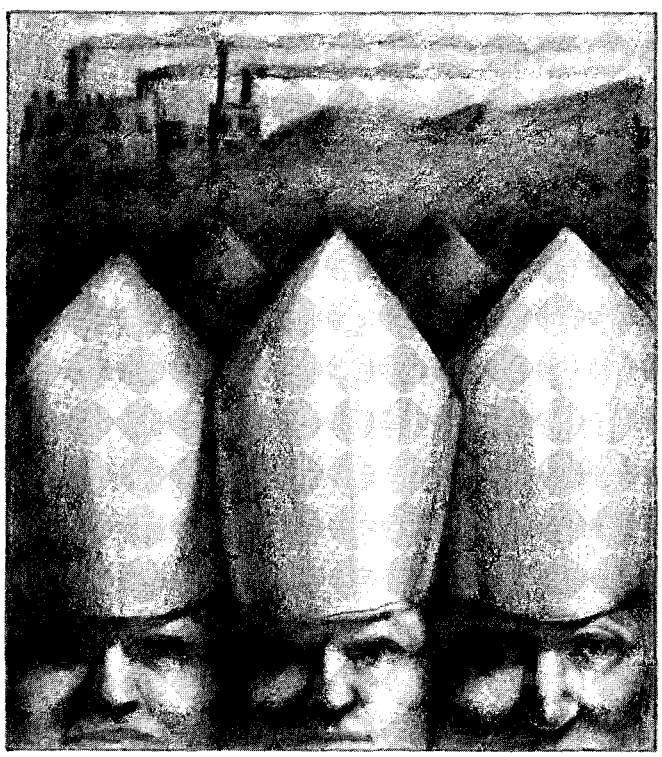
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**The letter takes the side of the poor and urges a vast expansion of government activity on their behalf. But it never even hints at numerous government practices that deny opportunity to the poor**

the poor get enough welfare support, consumption is discouraged, the difference in incomes is reduced, unemployment is cut in half, and, above all, wealth is redistributed for the benefit of the poor. The letter is a clarion call for a new wave of social engineering that ignores how grievously such experiments have failed in the past, both here and abroad.

The scope—and one-sidedness—of this argument is breathtaking. While claiming to have undertaken "empirical analysis," the letter ignores the inflationary consequences and arbitrarily sets the correct maximum level of unemployment at 3 to 4 per cent. The letter lauds human solidarity, then speaks out uncritically for labor unions organized to do battle with the managerial class. It criticizes management for resisting unionization but makes no mention of labor violence, and declares for a "just wage" for workers while rejecting a "just price" for farm commodities.

The letter takes the side of the poor and urges a vast expansion of government activity on their behalf. But it never even hints at numerous government practices that deny opportunity to the poor. After all, it is the government that forbids the poor to work at less than $3.35 an hour, even if they are not eligible for the demeaning alternative of welfare. It is the government that erects barriers to offering one's labor in a trade, by enforcing strict licensing standards to reduce competition with the privileged. It is the government that fixes prices on federal construction projects so that only the more privileged (and whiter) workers will be hired to do the work. The role of the government in systematically destroying the value of our currency and inflating the costs of the things the poor must buy goes unnoticed. Nowhere do the bishops suggest that the government is part of the problem, except in a few obviously half-hearted passages that echo earlier papal criticism of totalitarianism.



The bishops decide that the present distribution of wealth is morally unacceptable, but they never tell us how an acceptable level of wealth could be identified. We are exhorted to practice charity toward the poor, in the name of Christ, but in the next breath we are told that those who have any sort of wealth are greedy and covetous, and that their wealth must be confiscated by the state. It has always escaped me how one can practice Christian compassion to the poor merely by submitting to the demands of Caesar's tax gatherers to avoid going to Leavenworth.

We know well, from numerous empirical studies that the bishops' panel of expert witnesses neglected to bring to their attention, that it is almost always more to the advantage of "the poor" to accept welfare, food stamps, Medicaid, and public housing than it is to do entry-level work and pay Social Security and income taxes. So why work, and come out worse off? The bishops are indignant that anyone should ever accuse the able-bodied poor of not wanting to work. They laud the "self-realizing nature of honest work," but decry as inhumane any requirement that welfare recipients do work useful to their community in return for public benefits. They seem mired in the past of half a century ago, when it was believed by many that government redistribution of income and wealth would cure America's economic problems. After half a century of welfare spending, misguided social engineering, and government redistribution, that theory does not look so hopeful any more to anyone who (like Charles Murray in his new book, *Losing Ground*) is willing to examine the results.

As a practicing Roman Catholic, I especially regret the thrust of the bishops' letter that strongly implies that a free economic system cannot be compatible with Christian doctrine. The evidence, as I read it, is quite the contrary. It shows that only a free economic system supports dynamic production of wealth for the benefit of all. A free economic system, of all the economic systems tried by mankind in its history, gives the poor an opportunity to work, invest, prosper, and become rich. Not only that, but the moral values underlying a free economy also motivate the rich to bestow much of their wealth on works of charity and compassion to the needy. And those same moral values give legitimacy to the role of government in assisting those unable to obtain a decent standard of living through their own efforts.

In international matters, the bishops urge a major restruc-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**The U.S. is blamed for refusing to go along with perfectly reasonable Third World proposals for converting our earned wealth to their unearned reward, all the while increasing the power of their usually illegitimate governments**

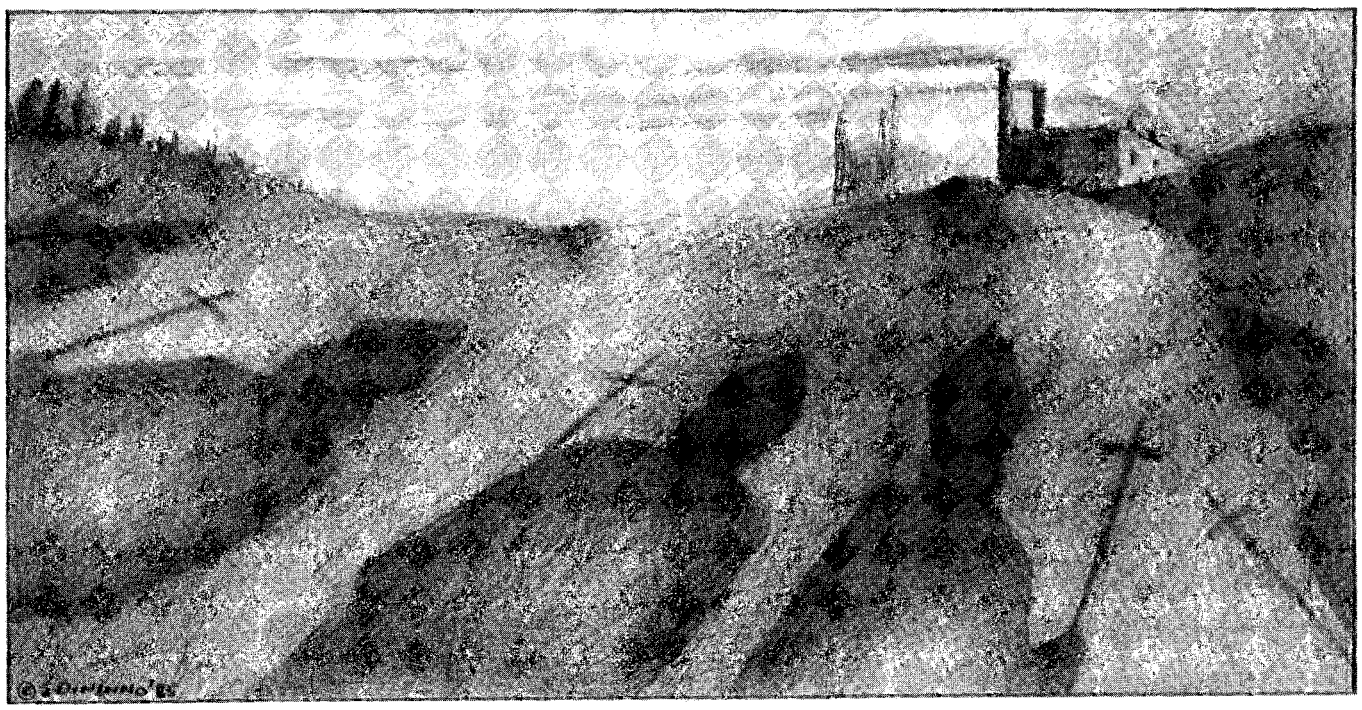
turing of the economic relations between the industrialized nations and the Third World. That the people of many Third World countries are in dire need is beyond dispute. So too is the proposition that the people of the wealthier countries have a moral obligation to help those who are less fortunate. That the bishops have hit upon a sound, experience-proven way of alleviating the problems of the Third World poor is open to serious question.

The bishops perceive that trade, finance, private investment, and foreign aid will be needed if the Third World masses are to improve their lot. The goal is to "empower people and give them a sense of their own worth, to help them improve the quality of their lives, and to ensure that the benefits of economic growth are shared equitably among them." U.S. policies toward the Third World countries should be built upon the "preferential option for the poor" that permeates the letter.

So far, so good. Then comes the identification of the villains who are holding the Third World in economic bondage. Chief among them is, not surprisingly, the United States Government, stingy, self-centered, paranoid, squandering on military assistance billions of dollars that could be used to improve the lives of the poor. Uncle Sam is painted as a miserable skinflint who has cut off the allowances of his starving children. The U.S. is blamed for refusing to go along with perfectly reasonable Third World proposals for converting our earned wealth to their unearned reward, all the while increasing the power of their usually illegitimate governments to stifle creative human activity—notably the creation of wealth—at all levels.

A chief item in this indictment is the Reagan Administration's cutbacks in funds subscribed to the International Development Association (IDA), the soft-loan window of the World Bank. The bishops assume, but never demonstrate, that World Bank and IDA lending results in benefits for the Third World poor.

More acute analyses, such as those of Melvyn Krauss and P. T. Bauer, show the real results of such socialized lending. As Krauss puts it, "What the Third World poor need more than anything else is relief from domestic government policies that impoverish their economies. By trying to help the poor directly, the World Bank bails out offending governments by negating the costs of their ill-conceived policies." Indeed it does. But the bishops hurry on without coming to grips with this truly vexing problem. Should the affluent West continue to transfer the resources of its people to subsidize Third World governments whose policies hold little or no promise of achieving the goals set forth so eloquently in the bishops' letter? This question gets to the heart of a profound moral dilemma, but the bishops simply refuse to confront it. Can it be that the bishops hold the view that the transfer of resources away from the affluent is justified as a morally purifying act—even if coerced—regardless of how those resources are subsequently misused by those who receive them in the name of the poor and the helpless? Certainly if a domestic charity





LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

raised contributions in the name of the needy poor, and then stole or squandered the funds to its own advantage, condemnation would be universal. Should it be otherwise when the givers and receivers are governments?

Nor did the bishops carry their "empirical analysis" far enough to examine successful Third World economies, such as those of the Republic of China, South Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong, and even Malaysia. All of these formerly poor countries have risen up the wealth ladder, through a well-understood combination of principles entirely compatible with the traditional principles of Catholic social teaching and of the American economic system. Those principles include security of private ownership, preservation of public order, a pervasive ethic of work, a minimum of trade barriers and exchange controls on capital, reasonable requirements for foreign investment, and the use of foreign loans only to finance projects that promise a revenue stream from which the loans can be repaid.

The performance of these countries is not perfect, but it is good enough that the underlying policies ought to be seized upon by those who want to improve the lot of common people everywhere. The bishops have not done so, which leads one to believe that they have ignored examples of success in a sincere but misguided enthusiasm for the views of those dedicated to the tearing down of functioning economies in the name of equality of income and wealth. A cynic might say that the bishops think America has not accepted its fair share of the world's poverty, and want to see that justice is done. But the goal is not the redistribution of poverty. The goal must be, in a just and humane society, the creation of wealth in ways that allow more and more people to earn their share of it.

The bishops' blindness to the economic performance of Third World governments is particularly strange in light of the bishops' strong reiteration of the traditional Catholic social belief in subsidiarity. That is the principle that all human activity ought to be carried on at the closest level to individual human beings that circumstances permit. In economics, the subsidiarity principle underlies traditional Catholic opposition to command economies of Left or Right. Well aware of this, the bishops take pains to oppose "a statist approach to economic policy," which results in "excessive concentration of power in the hands of government." But as the section on Third World development clearly shows, the bishops' objections to economic statism are perfunctory, not heartfelt.

The bishops' principles are right, but they are victims of a curious blindness that afflicts those who dread having their advanced liberalism confronted with real-world facts. They are simply unable to see that the major cause of poverty and misery in most Third World countries is not mean-spirited Uncle Sam, or bad Mr. Multinational, or greedy Mr. Bigbank, but the little clique of elitists in each country who view their national government either as a convenient source of private enrichment, or as a laboratory where hopelessly failed economic theories are tested once again on increasingly desperate workers and peasants. One thinks of Ethiopia, which, according to State Department estimates, has recently spent more than $150 million so that its rulers could celebrate the tenth anniversary of their bloody Marxist-Leninist revolution and their alliance with those wonderful, warmhearted folks in the Kremlin. This, while tens of thousands of their people are dying of starvation and disease.

There is much that I, as a Catholic, applaud in the social teachings of the Church. Its principles are sound, including the preferential option for the poor that constitutes the centerpiece of the bishops' letter. What the bishops seem unable to perceive, however, is that there is really no fundamental conflict between the goals of the Church and the principles of a free and just economic system. The long-run hope of the poor, here and everywhere, is not welfare dependency and governmental control of their lives, but freedom and opportunity. To be sure, government must play a role in preventing the manipulation of any kind of economic system to the disadvantage of the poor; but the uncritical advocacy of ever more government intervention and redistribution of wealth is a step in the wrong direction. As the few free-market-oriented Third World countries are proving, the lot of the common children of God improves far more rapidly when government judiciously allows the people a fair chance to strive, create, succeed, and own. That, and not government redistribution of poverty in the name of justice, is the true preferential option for the poor. □

Good things come to those who stay on The Hill.
At the new Sheraton Grand, you'll be surrounded by good things. Marble from Italy. Silk from the Orient. And original works of art. But even more will come to you—personally. A welcoming glass of champagne. A robe as soft as lamb's wool. A cordial with your turn-down service. Anything . . . from barbells to a personal computer can be yours upon request. Now, all sorts of Grand things can come of a trip to Washington. For reservations call toll-free (800) 325-3535.
The Sheraton Grand
on Capitol Hill
525 NEW JERSEY AVE., N.W. AT CAPITOL PLACE WASH., D.C. 20001 202-628-2100
SHERATON HOTELS INNS & RESORTS WORLDWIDE



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# SCARGILL CAVES IN

"SURRENDER," announced the *Daily Mail*'s banner headline. The longest, bitterest, most violent, and most expensive strike ever endured in Britain had finally come to an end. After exactly a year, and with no settlement, the striking coal miners went back to work. The militants, including Arthur Scargill, the union president, would have preferred to continue the strike even then: but there was really no choice. The drift back to work had become unstoppable.

So, in order to keep a semblance of control, the union leadership decided on what was called "an organized return." The strikers would march back with banners flying and brass bands playing. In the event, the return was thoroughly disorganized, as acrimonious and patchy as every other phase of the strike. Some areas refused to go back at once, because they wanted an amnesty for the seven hundred or so men who had been sacked, mostly for destruction of Coal Board property (the pits are all nationalized) or assaults on working miners. In Yorkshire Mr. Scargill, at the head of his banner-brandishing column, found the local mine picketed by miners from Kent, and, rather than sacrilegiously cross a picket line, marched his column away again.

Mr. Scargill has said that "the struggle will continue"; the miners were temporarily defeated by the government, "aided and abetted" by the judges, the police, the media, and other trade unions that failed to give proper support. In a way, that's true. But what rendered newspapers and television so damaging to Mr. Scargill was not that they were hostile, but that they showed too much. Everyone saw what happened on the picket lines. Everyone heard Mr. Scargill.

If Mr. Scargill were capable of honest analysis, he would have to admit that he himself miscalculated. From the moment he became president of the union, he dreamt of manipulating workers' power to bring down the Conservative government. Twice he and Mick McGahey, the Communist leader of the Scottish miners, tried and failed to get the necessary 55 per cent majority for a national stoppage. But, as Mr. McGahey engagingly said, they were not going to be "constitutionalized" out of their strike.

They launched area-by-area strikes, hoping that a domino effect, powered by Mr. Scargill's famous "flying pickets," would soon bring all the pits out; the transport and electricity unions would refuse to move or use coal; and Margaret Thatcher, like Mr. Heath before her, would be doomed.

But a third of the pits declined to strike. The flagrancy of Mr. Scargill's ambitions and his refusal to allow the miners a nationwide ballot, the absurdity of his demand that no pit should ever be closed on economic grounds and the violence of the pickets, alienated not only public opinion but much of the trade-union movement.

Mr. Scargill had also, like Argentina's General Galtieri, underestimated Mrs. Thatcher. Faced with a strike threat by the miners four years ago, she had made a humiliating practical retreat, postponing the closure of uneconomic pits. But then her government started preparing for the inevitable return of the challenge. Vast coal stocks were accumulated, and arrangements put in hand for imported coal to be moved, if necessary, by non-union truck drivers. New techniques were devised for the rapid deployment of police to cope with flying pickets. At the same time, a very generous plan was offered to the coal industry; decaying pits would be closed, but nobody would be made compulsorily redundant.

The key factor, of course, was that Mrs. Thatcher is made of much sterner stuff than Mr. Heath: even so, victory was far from certain. If the pit deputies, without whose supervision no mine can legally be worked, had fallen under the same kind of political spell as the National Union of Mine Workers, or, worse still, if the electricians' union had not been purged, in a famous legal action some years ago, of its ballot-rigging Communist leadership, the lights of Britain might well have gone out—in more senses than one.

As it is, the cost has been huge. In the deserted pits, fires, floods, and geological compressions have caused the loss of about sixty coal faces and £50 million worth of equipment. Billions of pounds have been spent on oil for the power stations, on extra policing, on social-security payments to the strikers' families. But, as the government said, it was a worthwhile investment.

LIKE THE moment when Napoleon's Old Guard fell back at Waterloo, the retreat of the dreaded miners may prove a turning point in the protracted battle to modernize British industry and curb the obstructive power of the unions. But what will the political consequences be?

The Conservatives are being careful not to gloat. Some leftish commentators argue that Mr. Scargill may yet achieve his goals indirectly. The latest public-opinion poll shows the Labour Party 2 per cent ahead, and one of the main reasons given is that Mrs. Thatcher's unyielding stand was considered heartless and socially divisive. A familiar chorus, including Church of England bishops and liberal journalists, pleaded with the government that the miners should not actually be defeated, because of the bitterness defeat would engender.

On the other hand, with the coal strike out of the way, Britain's economy could begin to show real signs of brightening. For the government's sake, good news must come soon; people are tired of waiting. □

*Mr. Lejeune is* NR*'s London correspondent.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# You're looking at the professionals.

**Modular carpets from Milliken HealthStyles,™ created to perform superbly in every health care environment.**

Look at appearance. HealthStyles modular carpets are the obvious choice for quiet luxury, in a healthy selection of designs and colors to enhance institutional ambiance.

Look at bacteria resistance. HealthStyles is the only bonded modular carpeting with Sylgard,™ the preferred, permanent, antimicrobial treatment.

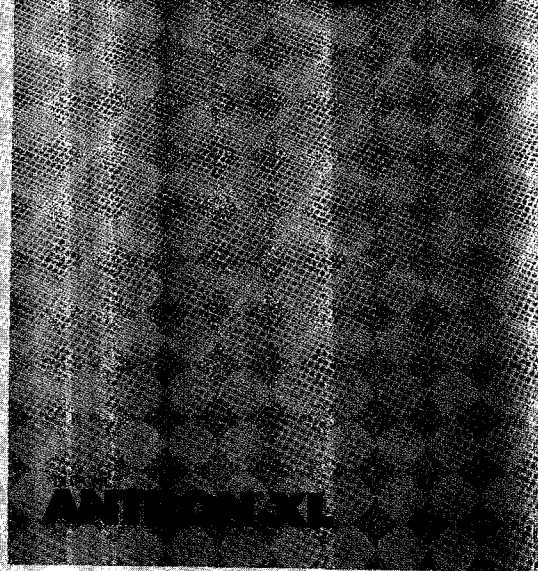
Look at safety. Hospital studies show up to 17% fewer fall-related injuries in carpeted rooms.

Look at economy. LifeCycles™ costing shows HealthStyles modular carpet actually costs far less than other floorcoverings.

Take a closer look. Call (1-800) 241-2327 and ask for our free brochure on HealthStyles textiles. It will give you all the facts you need to know about the health care professionals from Milliken.

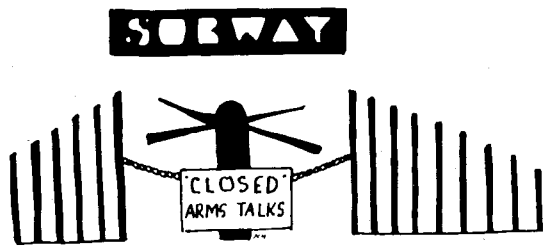
MILLIKEN

A total textile resource for the health care industry.

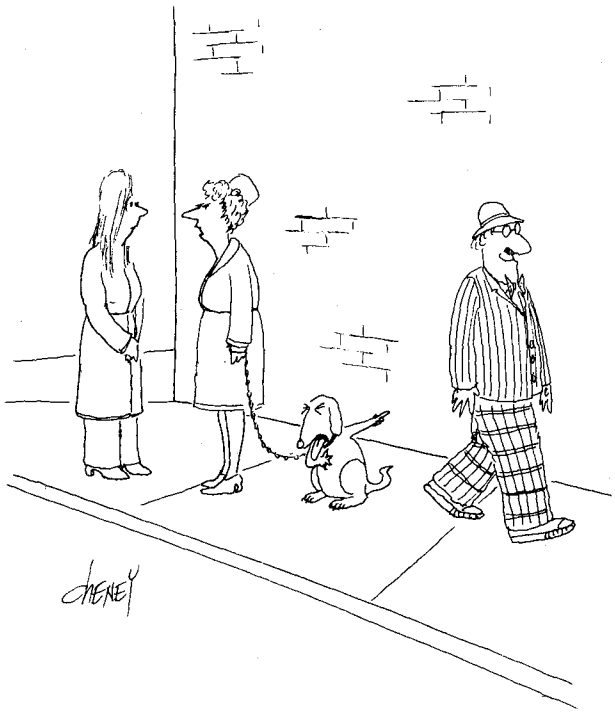


* Sylgard is a trademark of the Dow Corning Corporation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

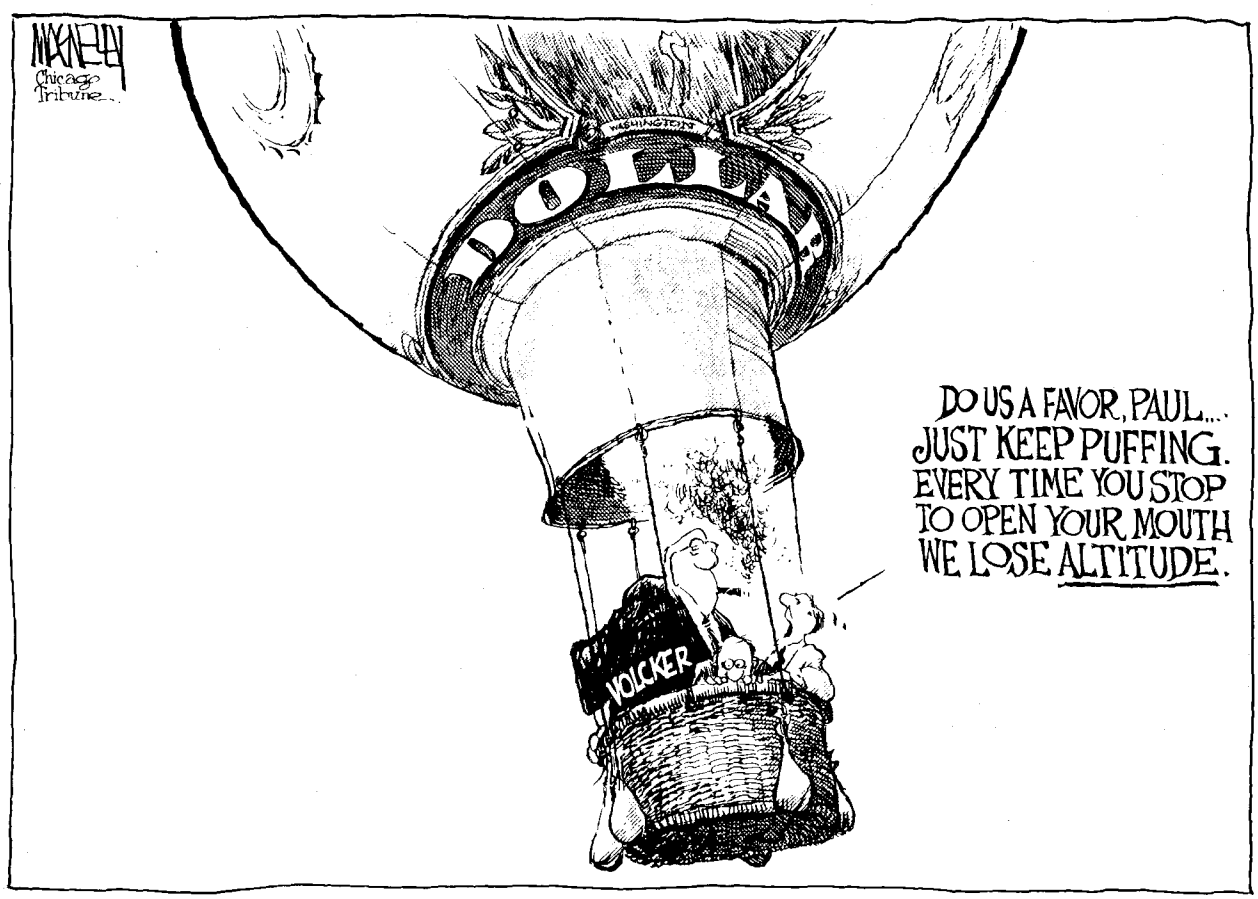


*"He's not what you'd call a purebred dog, but he has impeccable taste."*

## Forty Years Later

Tojo, thou should'st be living at this hour:
Though countless Zeros vanished in the sea,
It's here that manufacturers look sour
As millions choose a Datsun's warranty.
Your steel that hit with such ferocity
Now undersells the Rustbelt's aging best,
While factories, once rubble and debris,
Rise up as more than rivals of the West.
And, General, although we act distressed
At moat-like import quotas in Japan,
You'd love the way your governments suggest
The weaker is entitled to a ban.
So do look down, or up, if you're below,
And do tell Yamamoto, too, to crow.

W. H. VON DREELE






LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# MAKING DISTINCTIONS

THE RECENT article by John Tagg, "Understanding Mario Cuomo" (February 8), alerted the readers of NATIONAL REVIEW to the "pernicious" nature of my ideas, calling me a "dangerous man." Beware Cuomo, the reader is warned—"he makes distinctions."

What triggered this solemn caution was a lecture I delivered last September at the University of Notre Dame, in which I attempted to explain, among other things, my stand on the abortion issue.

Mr. Tagg says that he listened to the lecture. But because some of what he heard was so different from what I intended and what others drew from it, his analysis deserves some comment.

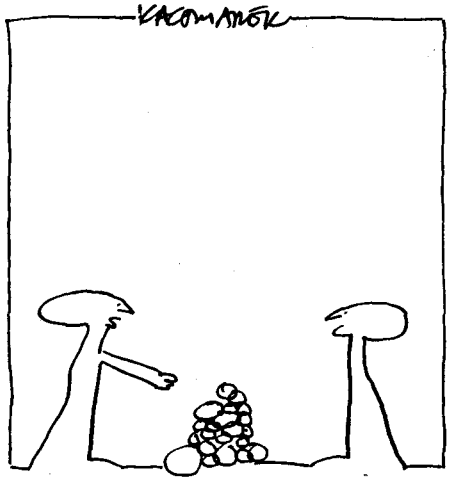
To begin, he says that I "engaged various Catholic bishops in a protracted bickering match on the subject of abortion." As a student of language, Mr. Tagg would no doubt agree with me that "engaged" as used here has a kind of active, even aggressive, connotation. That makes it a poor choice to describe what in fact happened.

In New York, among Catholics, it has always been considered bad form for politicians to air their differences with prelates in public. Editors, too, know how much heat can be generated by such public disagreements, by even a simple remark like "*Mater, sí; Magistra, no.*" But while heat and publicity of that sort may sell magazines, it's generally considered ruinous for political careers. Despite this, I am not sorry I was forced to re-examine and restate my position on abortion, although, had I not been publicly challenged on the issue, I would have preferred not to spend the time and effort that my speech at Notre Dame required: Being governor is hard enough as it is. But I *was* challenged, and I tried at Notre Dame to state my position in response as openly and honestly and intelligently as I could. I regret that Mr. Tagg mistook my meaning or ignored my words on several crucial points.

He says that the option I chose was "to do absolutely nothing whatever to restrict abortion." That is simply not true. In the speech, I said in all cases we should try to teach a respect for life, something that can be done, in practical ways, despite *Roe* v. *Wade*. We can all agree, I said, to support public and private programs that give an impoverished mother the full range of support she needs to bear and raise her children, to have real choices.

The creation of these alternatives to abortion does not have to wait for a change in the Constitution. We can have them now. Conservatives as well as liberals can give real meaning to Mr. Tagg's eloquent plea for the women who want to avoid abortion. He said: "The price of life for the unwanted child is the pain of the woman who bears that child. Those who love the child, their neighbor in the womb, must love as well their neighbor who bears that child. And to love is to share the beloved's pain."

In New York we are already trying to do that. We've doubled Medicaid financing to private-care physicians for pre-natal and delivery services. We've *initiated a program called* "New Avenues to Dignity" that helps teenage mothers provide for themselves and the children they are bringing into the world.



*"Choose your analogy."*

For Catholics in particular I suggested that we begin with the wisdom contained in the words, "Physician, heal thyself." As Mr. Tagg points out, the Catholic Church in this country is no longer small and weak, it is big and strong—fifty million strong. If Catholics followed the teachings of the Church with regard to abortion better than we do now, we'd set a clear and compelling example that might begin to convince this society to extend greater protection to the unborn.

On those points of action I believe I'm in total accord with Archbishop O'Connor and with many others who have commented on abortion, including Father Virgil Blum of the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights. Dozens of people have analyzed and evaluated what I said at Notre Dame. Some of the commentators read farther than Mr. Tagg and noted specifically that I did not argue for a "do nothing" or "give up" approach.

It is my judgment that a legal remedy to this problem would not be the most effective approach. Others judge differently. I did not counsel those who disagree to give up their search for legal ways to restrict abortion. I simply noted that even the bishops, having abandoned the hope that a law banning all abortions could be passed, are having difficulty agreeing on the precise form of a law they can endorse.

There is a vague, misinformed feeling that a proposal exists which—if we wished—we could all endorse and have done with legal abortions *tout de suite*. There is no such proposal for a law or an amendment that I know of. But there are, as I've said, practical alternatives, ways in which those who

*Mr. Cuomo is Governor of New York.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# For Mother's Day this imported Covered Candy Dish of FULL 24% LEAD CRYSTAL for only $39.95

*Actual size*
*9" high by 5-3/4" dia.*

Through The Pleasantville Plan, Ltd., lovers of fine crystal can now obtain at almost unheard of prices such exquisite crystal as shown here—made by Kristaluxus, Mexico's foremost creator of fine crystal. Each piece is guaranteed to have a lead content of at least twenty-four percent, the hallmark of the finest crystal.

The artists and craftsmen who produce these shimmering wonders of solid, heavy lead crystal come by their skills quite naturally. Through their sensitive fingers flows the blood of Mayan and Aztec civilizations that were creating masterpieces of fine art 2,000 years before Western societies were even aware of them.

Some of these pieces will shortly be appearing in fine shops in major urban areas that feature such collectibles. Meanwhile, if you would like to be among the first in your area to have one of these conversation pieces in your home – at the price listed plus a small charge for careful packing and shipping – fill out the coupon.

**Kristaluxus**
**Mexico**

THE PLEASANTVILLE PLAN, LTD., Dept. CJ-3, 62 Eastview Avenue, Pleasantville, NY 10570

Please send the lead crystal candy c illustrated No. 604-039 ( ) I encl check ( ) money order ( ) for $39.95 the first candy dish and for each additio al only $25.00 each. Add $3.50 each fc special packing and shipping - USA onl

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

Or call toll free 1-800-334-0854, ext. 854, 7 days, 24 hours.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

believe abortion to be wrong can act now to help restrict the number of abortions.

### *With Due Discretion*

Mr. Tagg devotes almost a third of his commentary to the analogy between abortion and slavery. It is here that he gets most severely confused.

Without going through a point-by-point rebuttal, I'd like to make several broad observations.

First, I did not inject the analogy to slavery into the debate. The Catholic bishops of New York, in a public letter, introduced the analogy in an attempt to show that my position on abortion was untenable. What it in fact showed under scrutiny was that the Catholic bishops of the last century chose, on the question of slavery, not to advocate change in the political arena. That was a prudential political judgment that, according to Catholic teaching, they could make without violating their consciences, without explicitly endorsing slavery, without being sinfully expedient.

Mr. Tagg believes I am wrong to say that "Lincoln behaved with similar discretion." I believe the historical record is clear. Lincoln saw slavery as a great wrong, but until the South forced the issue with a war, he was willing to tolerate its existence, even going so far as in 1861 to endorse a proposed Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution that would have forbidden Congress ever to interfere with slavery in the states. On the issue of slavery—on the decision to accept it for the sake of the Union and of civil peace—Mr. Tagg's argument is with the pre-Civil War Lincoln, not with me.

For better or for worse, I do not expect a civil war over abortion, a confrontation that will sweep away the complexities and leave us with the absolute victory of either side. The problem will not go away. It should not be allowed to. The question of life, of when it begins and ends, of when it must be protected, is centrally important for us all.

Mr. Tagg believes that the debate over abortion did not achieve very much. He calls it a bickering match whose effect "was to trivialize and muddle the issue in the public mind." I think the facts contradict his assertion. I believe the discussion has raised the level of dialogue, not trivialized it. The public statements by Bishop Malone of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops and by Archbishop O'Connor of New York have helped clarify the issues involved, allowing those of us within the Catholic community to agree on the major predicates of this discussion.

As Catholics, we believe abortion is a grave moral wrong. But the best *political* response to that wrong is neither described nor proscribed by the Church. The legal and the moral orders are not coterminous, and cannot be made to be except through the sort of logical legerdemain that Mr. Tagg favors.

Bishop Malone stated it as clearly as anyone: "On questions such as these," he wrote, "we realize that citizens and public officials may agree with our moral arguments while disagreeing with us and among themselves on the most effective legal and policy remedies."

Maybe the bishop is as dangerous a man as I.

But maybe not. Maybe he's just a churchman who makes distinctions. □

JOHN TAGG

# RESPONSE TO GOVERNOR CUOMO

READERS WHO care to review the article in question will have no difficulty sorting out Governor Cuomo's comments for themselves. I would, however, like to draw particular attention to two points he raises.

1. Does the governor advocate restricting abortion? I said he does not. He says he does. How does he want to restrict abortion? He wants to "teach a respect for life" by helping "impoverished mothers." This admirable policy will, he believes, "help restrict the number of abortions."

Consider a hypothetical analogy: The Supreme Court rules tomorrow that laws against rape are unconstitutional. A strong and vocal minority of men emerges, defending the Court's decision on the grounds that it protects their right to control their own bodies. The governor of a large state says that he does not think "the legal interdicting of rape" is a "plausible possibility." It would be reasonable, would it not, to say of that governor that "his option is to do absolutely nothing to restrict rape"?

Imagine what would happen if our hypothetical governor were to defend himself by saying something like this: "I *do* want to restrict rape. Why, we spend several million for counseling frustrated males, and we've doubled the Medicaid allowance for group therapy for impoverished men. By these positive actions we can act now to help restrict the number of rapes."

Would it not strike nearly everyone that this governor was using the word "restrict" rather oddly? Surely some commentator would note that if it is perfectly legal to commit rape it is mere playing with words to talk about rape's being "restricted."

### *Like Black and White*

If you say that the state should restrict drunk driving, you do not mean that the legislature should subsidize AA. To promote personal savings is not to restrict theft. We do not restrict child abuse by increasing the budget for family counseling. The distinction between restricting a wrong act and encouraging its opposite is not a fine distinction. It ranks in terms of subtlety with such distinctions as those between black and white, up and down, left and right. If a public official were to apply it to nearly any other public issue he would be openly ridiculed. Is it not, then, an interesting comment on the state of public discourse that the governor of New York has the temerity to say, in effect: "I want to restrict abortion; I've



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

doubled Medicaid funding for pre-natal services."

2. What of the analogy with slavery? The governor again returns to it and again evades the point. The point is that some acts involve violence against human beings in a way that violates the fundamental premises of a free society. Slavery contradicted the principle that all men are created equal, endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights. So does abortion. Governor Cuomo does not deny that abortion is the moral equivalent of slavery.

On the subject of the Corwin amendment: It represented no change in Lincoln's consistent position. He had never advocated congressional intervention in states where slavery was established. He said this of the proposed amendment in his First Inaugural Address: "Holding such a provision to now be implied constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express." Lincoln took his stand on the issue of the extension of slavery. Likewise the opponent of abortion can select from many proposed alterations of present statutes to bring law into closer conformity with justice. To compare the man whose election to the Presidency caused the advocates of slavery to secede from the Union with the bishops who ingloriously sat on their hands through the whole controversy is nothing short of preposterous.

Cuomo repeatedly tries to hide behind bishops: dead ones whose cause is utterly discredited when he can't find a live one willing to muddle things sufficiently. But abortion is not a Catholic issue, and the inalienable rights that must animate our opposition to abortion are in no way dependent upon Christian faith. The fact that Cuomo is a Catholic is irrelevant to the public discussion of abortion. That Cuomo is a governor who advocates legal acceptance of the moral equivalent of slavery should concern us all. □

# Kennings

**Beatnik**
Withdrawn
from a rude world
where one could win or fail,
he found life only hurts if you
inhale.

**Liberated**
He lived
his life without
benefit of clergy,
but with all the benefit of
urgy.

**Outspoken**
He tried
to slick them down,
keep them beneath his hat,
but cowlicks of conviction won't
lie flat.

**Statistician**
He sat
his cat on scales,
but she stepped off or played,
to show him that some things cannot
be weighed.

**Recluse**
Far from
the city's loud
orchestrated riot,
listening to *a cappella*
quiet.

**Specialist**
Scanning
only planets,
from Jupiter to Mars,
he overlooked immensities
of stars.

**Abortionist**
He shrugged
away the thought:
If one could so suspend
the start, why not the middle and
the end?

**Adjusted**
Balanced
and well-rounded—
as balanced as a ball;
too rounded for a pointed thought
at all.

**Debased**
Prolonged
pornography
had left an ugly stain,
a brown discoloration in
the brain.

**Tolerant**
With friends
of each color,
each station, each steeple,
proud that some of her best friends were
people.

—Gloria A. Maxson



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# PAPANDREOU'S ROLLER-COASTER FOREIGN POLICY

*The precise combination of a bold development of possibilities and the judicious knowledge of limitations leads to a realistic but unwavering foreign-policy outline, with comprehensive, nonaligned, and multidimensional initiatives. . . . The approach is dialectical, not linear. Our movements in one sector—economic, political, social, military—must be coordinated with movements in the others. The one supports the other. It is an intricate reality.*

*—Andreas G. Papandreou*

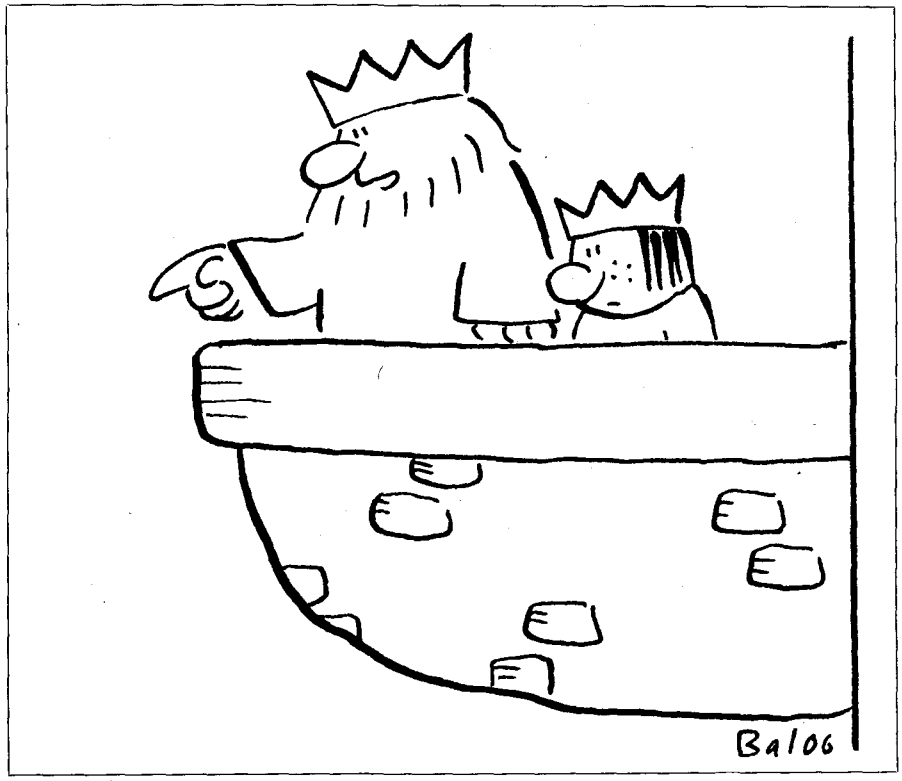
SAY WHAT you will about him, Andreas Papandreou is no mean orator. In the typical quotation printed above, one glimpses a portion of the rhetorical façade erected by the prime minister in hopes of obscuring the balancing act he has been performing with Greece's foreign relations.

For more than three years now, Papandreou has been feeling "deeply moved and nationally proud" while asserting that the "independent multidimensional foreign policy" instituted by his Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) would lead ultimately to what he views as the restoration of Greece's "national independence." Instead, the results have been mounting distrust, and the distrust can only deepen now that Papandreou has just engineered the resignation of President Constantine Karamanlis, who was seen as a restraining influence on the Prime Minister.

Political observers here neither deny the critical state of Greece's foreign relations, nor dispute the cause. As Helen Vlachos, publisher of the influential Athens daily *Kathimerini*, bluntly phrases it, "Mr. Papandreou has discredited himself, discredited his party, and discredited Greece with his extremely childish foreign diplomacy: by kissing Arafat, by hugging Fidel Castro, by getting into Palestinian affairs, by saying that Mr. Jaruzelski is a patriot-Pole, and so on and so forth. And all of that to satisfy the Left!" Antonis Samaras, a member of Parliament from the conservative opposition New Democracy Party, echoes the views of many: "We don't have a prime minister. Mr. Papandreou is not the voice of Greece, he is the voice of leftist propaganda."

There is much evidence to support such a thesis. Under the PASOK regime, Greece has adopted an individualistic and obstinately pro-Soviet stance on nearly every major issue confronted by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European Economic Community.

In September 1983, for example, after the USSR downed the South Korean airliner, the Papandreou government insisted upon watering down a Common Market joint communiqué to the point where no mention whatsoever was made of the Soviet Union or its responsibility for the affair. The Greek government expressed "deep sorrow" over the incident and called for an "investigation" of the case—the latter only *after* the Kremlin had admitted to blasting KAL 007 from the skies. Dubbing the Greek response a "confidence gap," West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher voiced his opinion that the attitudes of the PASOK government could cripple the European Community's effectiveness. A year later Papandreou declared that it was an established "fact" that KAL 007 had been executing an




*"The ones in polyester are the bourgeoisie, and the guys in white socks and plaid shirts are the rabble."*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

espionage overflight for the CIA when it was shot down.

To the newcomer, it is disorienting to learn that Andreas Papandreou, who habitually creates such discord within alliances, also stresses the absolute necessity of political cooperation among the European Community member-states, saying: "It is neither possible nor expedient for the 'Ten' to take up individual positions in international affairs." But even a cursory examination of Papandreou's track record in foreign affairs reveals numerous contradictions in word and deed.

During his 1981 election campaign, Papandreou swore that a PASOK "government of change" would not allow Greece to remain a lackey of the West. He pledged that as prime minister he would deliver the country from the forces that threatened its independence—namely, Greece's membership in NATO and the EEC, and the presence of U.S. military bases in Greece.

## *'Free Western Europe'*

BUT MUCH OF this proved to be a rhetorical smokescreen: PASOK assails the EEC as part of the "imperialist camp" and vows to "continue and intensify the struggle within the framework of the EEC" for "the liberation of Western Europe from U.S. suzerainty." Meanwhile, Greece remains a full member-state in the Common Market; it held the EEC's rotating six-month presidency during the latter half of 1983 and continues to receive abundant financial aid and subsidies (on very generous terms) from Community coffers.

According to Papandreou, who is defense minister as well as prime minister, Greece's NATO participation is "practically inactive" and an "especially negative" experience. In actuality, Greece takes part in far more NATO exercises than it takes exception to (as determined by political expediency) and participates unfailingly in NATO political committees (if only to raise an obstructionist voice). PASOK's strategic goal, Papandreou claims, is to facilitate the total disengagement of Greece from NATO. He insists that "aspects of [Greece's] cooperation within the NATO framework stumble on our relations with Turkey," or, as he often puts it, that "relations between Washington and Athens pass through Ankara." Still, although Greece often plays the role of an Eastern-bloc country within the Western alliance, Greece remains in NATO.

PASOK promised to drive out the American "bases of death," but in fact Papandreou's government has signed an accord with the U.S. that extends the term of their existence. Papandreou refers to the accord, incidentally, as a "removal agreement with a terminable date."

The point Papandreou would like to ignore (especially in view of his oft-repeated statements that the U.S. bases *will* be removed from Greek soil) is that the accord expires long after his present term in office—and his re-election is uncertain. He further maintains that should any future Greek government wish to extend the existence of American facilities, a new agreement would have to be drafted—an assertion not supported by a careful reading of the agreement's stipulations.

Papandreou sees himself as a prominent figure in global politics, an opinion the Soviet Union seems to share: The Kremlin has appointed Igor Andropov (Yuri's boy) ambassador to Athens. PASOK fanatics are proud of their good relations with the Soviets, and gladly call attention to the seemingly endless series of negotiations for increased industrial and economic cooperation with the USSR; Greek-Soviet trade in 1983 was estimated at $800 million.

Andreas Papandreou's connections with the Soviet Union go back a long way—to his youthful association with the Trotskyists—and are still reflected in his foreign policy.

Although the Greek government mildly criticized General Wojciech Jaruzelski's imposition of martial law in Poland, Soviet complicity and backing of the regime have yet to be conceded. Greece was the only NATO country that did not support the U.S.-led economic sanctions against the Jaruzelski regime, because, as it stated, "Sanctions would run counter to the desired result and would, in the last analysis, hurt the whole Polish people."

When Papandreou paid an official visit to Poland in late 1984, his comments further clarified his sentiments. He praised General Jaruzelski and described him as "a patriot within Poland's historical framework who is trying to promote a measure of change. . . . Although he wears a military uniform, we mustn't be led to think that Poland is [under] a military regime. That would be wrong." Papandreou also attempted to put the blame for the Polish crisis on the "negative" stance of Lech Walesa and Solidarity. He claimed that the United States and other Western countries seek to "attack the weakest link in the Eastern bloc, that is, the country that had presented the greatest problems [i.e., Poland]. The attack was aimed at destabilizing Eastern Europe." Although his visit coincided with the murder of Father Jerzy Popieluszko, Papandreou managed nary a word about it.

To Papandreou, the United States is "the metropolis of imperialism," bent on the "perpetual accumulation of capital, the incessant pursuit of the greatest possible profit, subjugation of every other goal on the altar of profitable investment [to serve the capitalists' objective of] unbridled expansionism." The strategy of the United States "is aimed, as it has always been, at expansion and domination. The continual propagation of Imperium."

The Soviet Union, on the other hand, is neither imperialistic nor expansionistic, according to the prime minister's chop-logic: Since "imperialism is the quintessence of capitalism's monopolistic phase," which "does not correspond to the Soviet reality," it is, therefore, "not possible for one to term the Soviet Union an imperialistic power." Instances of Soviet "hegemonism"—say, on the African continent—are justifiable, Papandreou believes, because they constitute a necessary self-defense against the impending threat of imperialist (read: U.S.) encirclement. The USSR is an important "factor against the spread of capitalism and its imperialistic pursuits."

Papandreou opposed NATO's deployment of cruise and Pershing II missiles in Western Europe, although Greece had supported NATO's 1979 "two-track" decision favoring said deployment. True, that decision was reached by a predecessor government; but Papandreou's own government, in December 1981, gave its unreserved approval to the allied foreign ministers' declaration hailing President Reagan's "zero-option" proposals. Yet Papandreou insists that "the deployment of

*Mr. Carpenter lives in Greece and is a writer for* The Athenian, *Greece's main English-language monthly. He is working on a book about the Papandreou government.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Euromissiles upsets the strategic balance." (Papandreou has also been heard to shout: "Not even one new missile in Europe! This is the Greek government's position, a position we declare on *every* occasion!")

For the past several years, Greeks have had the dubious pleasure of witnessing the creation of "Papandreou—Man of Peace." Their prime minister's efforts to "promote détente"—through the espousal of restrictions on NATO's nuclear forces, his proposals on disarmament, and his attempted establishment of a de-nuclearized zone in the Balkans—have won him praise and adulation from the government-controlled television and radio networks and the pro-government press.

At least one much ballyhooed man-of-peace story has boomeranged: the story that he had been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize. The state-controlled mass media broadcast the report, hailing the move as overdue recognition. Then the story splintered: The alleged nominators proved to be nonentities. Moreover, the secretary of the Nobel Committee in Oslo confirmed that no nominations of Papandreou had been made at all.

Other examples of Papandreotic grandstanding—especially his meddling in inter-Arab conflicts—are too serious to be amusing. Papandreou has seen fit to speak out in favor of Walid Jumblat's Druse forces in Lebanon, to discover an inexplicable "identity of views" with Syria, Jordan, and the PLO on Middle Eastern problems, and to form a close relationship with his "Arab brother" Yasir Arafat and gunsels of the Palestine Liberation Organization. (Various diplomatic sources confirm that Papandreou offered Arafat the opportunity to move PLO headquarters to Athens—an offer that was retracted only after the conservative opposition party intervened.) In spite of Papandreou's passionate embrace of Arafat and other Arab leaders, Greece has yet to see the promised massive influx of petrodollars, either as investment capital or otherwise. Meanwhile, Greece is gradually becoming a battlefield whereon rival Arab terrorists settle their differences.

## *'Good Friend' Qaddafi*

SIMILARLY disquieting to Greece's allies is the peculiar state of cooperation between PASOK (both as political party and as government) and Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi. Libyan "death squads," for instance, have been permitted to march in Athens under police protection, shouting praise of Qaddafi and promising the execution of Reagan, Thatcher, et al. Libyan opponents of Qaddafi have been assassinated in Athens and the murderers not apprehended. A $500-million deal was made for Greek military hardware to benefit Qaddafi's gunrunners. Other "achievements" growing out of Papandreou's dealings with his "good friend" Qaddafi speak plainly for themselves. First, the alleged $1-billion commercial deal with Libya—much touted by PASOK as a boon for the Greek economy—that turned out to be nothing more than agreed minutes and signed letters of intent—no binding clauses and no hope of fulfillment. Second, Papandreou's personal "mediation" between France and Libya over arrangements for bilateral troop withdrawals from Chad, culminating in the Elounda Bay meeting last November 15, when Papandreou sat by as Qaddafi lied to François Mitterrand about Libya's "good will."

On two issues closer to the hearts of the Greek people—Greco-Turkish relations and the Cyprus problem—the PASOK government has little cause for self-congratulation. Prior to the secessionist declaration of a Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in 1983, a plan was put forward for an all-party conference with Prime Minister Papandreou during which the peace initiatives of United Nations Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar would have been unconditionally accepted, thereby opening a route for joint British-Greek approaches to Turkey to urge the cooperation of Turkish-Cypriot leaders in negotiating a settlement. The conference never developed as planned, owing to Greek refusals to accept the Pérez initiatives unconditionally. Now the division is deeper than ever. It is difficult to see how a lasting solution can be found, either for the Cyprus problem in particular or for the general impasse in Greco-Turkish relations, when the Greek prime minister persists in calling Turkey "an immediate threat" and discards out of hand all possibilities for dialogue with the Turks.

Many observers believe that Papandreou's "independent multidimensional foreign policy" is tailored to 1) maintain the party image as the only true defender of Greek interests, 2) placate the Greek Communist Party (without which PASOK could not have attained and held power), and 3) mask the ineptitudes of interior policies and quack economic programs that are leading the economy toward bankruptcy.

The government-controlled media carry the PASOK message—whether it is an imaginary Turkish "threat in the Aegean," abuses at the hands of the Common Market and the "American-dominated" NATO, or the imminence of nuclear holocaust thanks to Western warmongering—to serve an immediate end: to distract public attention from the nation's present internal chaos and the dangerous course being followed by the PASOK government.

Another ground for worry is that PASOK (with the assistance of its able allies, the Communists) is gaining

*(Continues on page 60)*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## nce upon a time,

long, long ago, we had what we thought was a very good idea, which was: Why not ask our own readers to help us find *new* readers? Heavens no! said wiser heads than ours (we were very new at this kind of thing), that's just plain asking too much of *anybody*. Oho, we answered, but our readers *aren't* just anybody, and we can't broadcast invitations like mass-circulation magazines and take on anyone who answers. No, the people we must look for are people very much like the readers we already have—people with similar ideas and outlook, tastes and values—the very ones, it seems logical to assume, who are much better known to *you* than to us, because they are your friends and relations and business associates, etc. And lo these many years we have asked our readers to rrriiippp out a postcard (just like the one facing this page) and use it to introduce some worthy friend to NR—give it to him with your recommendation, or use it to send an introductory gift subscription. And you have: thousands of you have done this simple but invaluable favor for us (some of you many, many times!). Without that kind of help from you, NR could never have become what indeed it has become—one of America's most influential publications. Influence someone *you* know today. **As we so often say, just use the card facing this page today!**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# CLASSIFYING THE RACES

AMID CONSIDERABLE public attention, the state of Louisiana repealed a law that had established a formula for determining which persons within the state were to be considered "colored." Under the late Louisiana statute, persons were to be characterized as "colored" if they possessed in excess of one-32nd of "Negro blood." The statute's demise resulted immediately from publicity focused upon it by one Susan Guillory Phillips, the wife of a wealthy businessman, who—despite having been "brought up and raised white"—discovered at a relatively late stage of life that she had been classified on her birth certificate as "colored." Mrs. Phillips was three-32nds black.

While the existence of such a statute in our modern times proved the subject of considerable mockery and ridicule (as it fully deserved), some of our more progressive legislators may have glimpsed the germ of a good idea in the Louisiana provision. Indeed, it is precisely the kind of statute that will have to be constructed sooner or later, as our nation becomes more and more committed to the concept of racial entitlements in the name of "affirmative action."

To put it quite simply, to the extent that "affirmative action" programs become more explicit and more deeply institutionalized, it will become increasingly important for our nation to engage itself in officially categorizing by race. As government privileges and benefits become conditioned upon a citizen's racial background (without serious regard for such factors as economic or educational deprivation), it will become increasingly necessary for the government to determine precisely which persons do and which do not belong to the class of eligible beneficiaries. Just as it determines eligibility for social-services entitlements by evaluating an applicant's income or age, it will have to determine eligibility for racial entitlements by evaluating his or her racial ancestry.

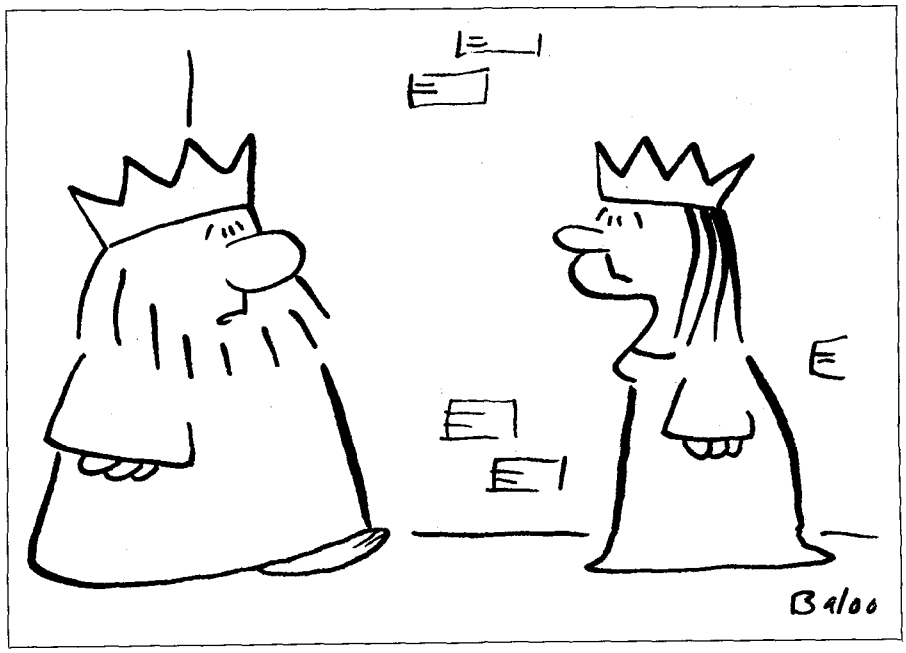
As Yale Law Professor Boris Bittker remarked several years ago, while mulling over ways to administer an official program of reparations for blacks, "Compensation to individuals could not be administered without a racial code and a large-scale procedure for the racial classification of individuals."

Consider, for example, the Minority Business Enterprise (MBE) program approved by Congress in 1978 (and upheld by the Supreme Court in a subsequent decision, *Fullilove* v. *Klutznick*, which, along with *Roe* v. *Wade*, may ultimately stand as the landmark decision of the "conservative" Burger Court). In the MBE program, Congress earmarked 10 per cent of the total funds for a series of public-works projects for "minority business enterprises." These were defined as those owned by citizens who were "Negroes, Spanish-speaking, Orientals, Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts." Only businessmen of the appropriate pigmentation need apply for these funds.

Under the MBE program, and under other, similar programs, there might arise an irresistible temptation for individuals who had been "brought up and raised white" to locate in their genealogy traces of the correct racial type to qualify for eligibility. Indeed, if one carefully examined the racial character of the nation today, one might find that this was not a particularly difficult thing to do. According to one serious study, there are an estimated forty million "whites" who have an "African element" in their biological inheritance. In other words, there are probably more "whites" in the United States today who are descended from the original African slaves than there are "blacks."

Who ultimately is going to determine whether a contractor is eligible for a multimillion-dollar contract under

*(Continues on page 61)*



*"Dear, do you remember where I sent the Secretary of State?"*

*Mr. Markman is chief counsel of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on the Constitution.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# ABROAD

MANILA *Rome and Peking*

Is the People's Republic of China ready to end its 27-year-old dispute with the Vatican? So far, Mainland Chinese Catholics have been grouped under the state-controlled Catholic Association, which claims three million adherents. It does not recognize the supremacy of Rome and appoints its own bishops and priests; it has accused the Vatican of "subversive action" against Chinese churches. Mainland China also has an underground Catholic Church, loyal to Rome, but its leaders are for the most part in jail for celebrating private Masses and baptisms. After a recent visit to Peking, however, the Filipino prelate Jaime Cardinal Sin appears to believe that things may change, and goes so far as to speak of a "breakthrough." Cardinal Sin even reports that the Catholic Association would be ready to align itself with Rome, but he refuses to elaborate on this. Pope John Paul II has made a number of gestures toward Peking, the most recent during his visit to South Korea when he spoke warmly of the Chinese people. An important element in the situation is the Catholic Church in Taiwan, which has particularly close ties to Rome. Taiwanese bishops have now distributed a conciliatory pastoral letter asking their flocks to adopt an understanding attitude toward the Pope's desire for closer ties with Mainland China. The letter was entitled: "The Church in China: One Shepherd, One Flock."

KAMPALA *More Trouble in Uganda*

British diplomats are having second thoughts about their country's program of aid—modest compared to the old days, but still substantial—to Uganda, now ruled by Dr. Milton Obote, successor to the legendary tyrant Idi Amin. Reports based on serious evidence speak of starvation and torture of people who are in effect innocent bystanders in tribal conflicts; several thousand of these have died in military prisons in the last few years in circumstances that match in kind if not in scale the massacres of Ugandans under General Amin. The British program has been worth an annual £7 million ($8 million) and has included a small but important British army training team, ammunition, and light weapons. Lately there has been news that Dr. Obote is turning increasingly to assistance from North Korea. Uganda's vice president, Paulo Muwanga, flew to Pyongyang last fall to negotiate for an enlarged military mission. At least seven hundred North Korean soldiers are currently stationed at Entebbe and have been used in the field against rebel guerrillas.

BRUSSELS *Common Market Crisis*

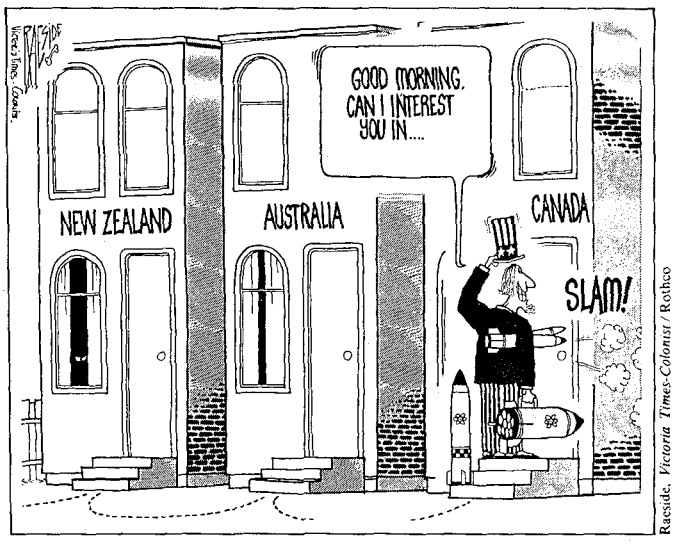
The diplomatic crisis that has been plaguing the Common Market over the entry of Spain and Portugal has moved into high gear. The deadline for agreement on entry conditions is the end of March, if parliamentary procedures for admission are to start on time in 1986. Britain, France, Denmark, West Germany, and Ireland are, for example, standing firm against any sweetening of the offer of fishing rights already made to the Spanish government. These countries want the large Spanish fishing fleet kept out of certain Common Market waters for at least ten years after Spain gets in. Other member states are satisfied with a seven-year prohibition. Another important snag is the threat by the Greek government to veto the entry of Spain and Portugal unless there is a huge ($4-billion) aid program devised for the eastern Mediterranean, meaning specifically financial compensation for putative Greek market losses.

BELGRADE *In This Century*

Europe's "Project of the Century," the construction of a network of waterways linking the North Sea to the Black Sea via the Rhine, Main, and Danube Rivers, may in fact be finished in the 1990s. That is when the Federal Republic of Germany will complete its part of the project, which will eventually comprise some two thousand miles of canals and navigable rivers. The fact that there is a difference of about a thousand feet in water level between the Main and the Danube indicates the size of the locks necessary for that part of the route. Meanwhile, Yugoslavia is working on ambitious plans that will probably be slowed down because of its external debt crisis, but envisioned are canals from Zagreb to the Adriatic and a Danube-Vadar canal to open an important region of the Balkans to the Aegean Sea near Salonika. Rumania, also beset by economic difficulties, has nevertheless constructed a canal to the Black Sea that shortens the river route by 250 miles. Hungary and Austria are two landlocked states that also have a vital stake in the Danube traffic. One example of what the new network will mean in terms of transport capacity suffices. Two tugs pushing a river convoy of barges can move the same amount of cargo as all the freight cars in Serbia, Yugoslavia's largest region.

LONDON *Modern War*

New Zealand's Prime Minister David Lange, in London to mend fences over his refusal to allow American naval vessels to dock at New Zealand ports, had this comment on the episode. In a reference to the United States' withholding of intelligence information as a consequence, Lange remarked: "We can live with that," and continued: "If the U.S. really wanted to attack us, they would cut off *Dallas* and *The A-Team*."



Racside, *Victoria Times-Colonist*/Rothco



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# SOCIALISTS CIRCLE BISHOPS

RECENTLY, two speakers chastised the convention of the Democratic Socialists of America, saying that even the Roman Catholic bishops "are to the left of the DSA."

—Democratic Socialist Michael Harrington told the New York press that if any political party were to adopt the bishops' letter on the U.S. economy as its platform, he would gladly join such a party.

—Observing that even mainline liberal economists are having serious difficulties with it, the Jesuit review *America* advised dropping the programmatic Part II of the bishops' first draft and keeping only a short "pastoral" version of Part I.

—In *Christianity and Crisis*, once distinguished for its Niebuhrian realism but now committed to the utopian politics of socialism, Robert Lekachman, Beverly Harrison, Harvey Cox, and Gregory Baum wish the bishops would be even more radical, but accept the first draft as the best gift the Left has received in decades.

—Harvard Divinity School will shortly sponsor a platform for the Institute for Policy Studies, in which, among others, Barbara Ehrenreich and Richard Barnet will address the five bishops of the drafting committee.

Thus does the Left circle the first draft.

The two concepts most important to the far Left are "economic democracy" and "economic rights." By these concepts the Left means: 1) the primacy of politics over economics (e.g., the noun in "political economy" is moved to the position of the adjective—"economic democracy"—signifying that political decisions should command economic activities); and 2) embracing the socialist agenda in the "second basket," the economic section, of the UN Declaration of Human Rights.

The bishops' first draft gives the far Left these two basic concepts, but it hesitates to specify their full implications. Some say the bishops are demanding constitutional amendments, a new and enlarged Bill of Economic Rights, of equal "pride of place" with the political and civil rights in the "first" American experiment.

Others say all the bishops desire is the *legal* recognition of economic entitlements (to income, a job, vacations, health care, etc.) actionable in the courts. A third interpretation is that the bishops seek neither new constitutional rights nor new legal powers for the courts, but only greater caring among all citizens, implicit in the classic virtue of justice. While most likely, this third interpretation does not seem well expressed by invoking Anglo-American conceptions of "rights."

In this cloud of uncertainty, the far Left sees clearly the future implications. Proclaim economic "rights" and you give the state immense powers. As it does in socialist countries, the state will be empowered to invade private property and all economic activities.

The Left maintains that the concept of economic rights upholds human dignity. Yet if people are *entitled* to a job, income, decent comfort, etc., who has the means to supply them with all these instrumental goods, in the last resort, if not the central state? The bishops, explicitly, do not wish to be statist. But the first draft's uncertain logic seems to be.

Persons dependent on the state can scarcely be called masters of their own destiny. Dependency undercuts their God-given responsibilities and undermines their dignity. A good society should help the truly dependent and temporarily needy, because of the virtue of justice. Invoke universal *entitlement* and virtue flees.

For sound reasons, the U.S. has never embraced the UN concept of economic rights. Political and civil rights are unalienable, endowed by the Creator. In what are economic rights grounded? The answer of the first draft appears to be that this nation needs a "new consensus." That is a weak foundation for rights. (According to Gallup, 61 per cent of American Catholics in 1984 voted for Ronald Reagan. Does the drafting committee really wish to build upon consensus?)

The promiscuous use of the word "rights" is an intellectual fault. It was Stalin, after all, who insisted on including "economic rights" in the UN Charter. The history of socialist Eastern Europe shows us why. Even the Democratic Socialists of America have good reason to think hard about the incommensurability of economic rights with political and civil rights. In theory, the conceptions clash. In practice, one creates a limited state and a dynamic economy, the other a dominating state and a stagnant economy.

Perhaps the drafters should inspect more closely the crisis of socialism in France (and in China). In France, creative minds even among socialists are turning to liberal conceptions of political economy.

OBLIVIOUS to the failures of socialism in France, Sweden, China, and elsewhere, the newsletter *Religious Socialism* exults: "What is decisive and certainly of moment is that democratic socialists have an ally in the economic theology of the bishops' letter; for the bishops' project, while still reformist in intent, nevertheless implies a major reconstruction of the U.S. economic system."

If so, the full implications of such foundational changes should be thoroughly and unambiguously set forth. It is not likely that the Catholic bishops will declare themselves to be democratic socialists. On the contrary, they are quite likely to block such interpretations with a certain clarity of definition, whose roots are already implicit (although not yet clearly so) in the first draft. □



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# NOW

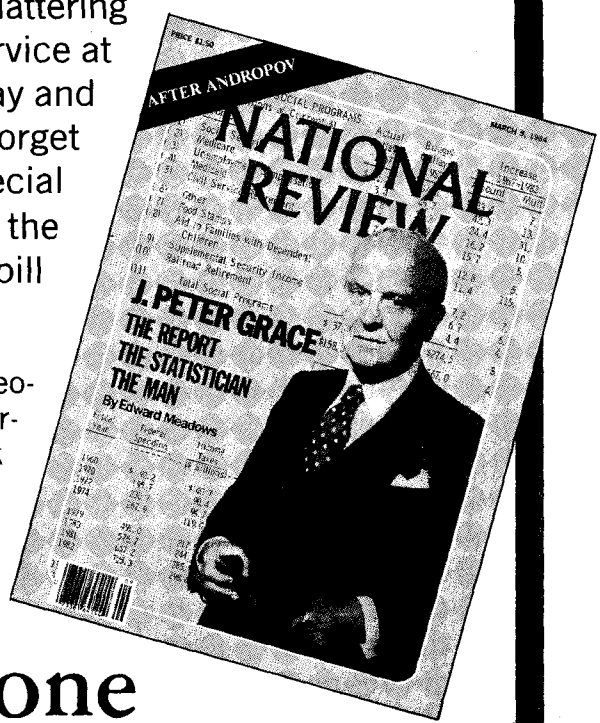
## all you have to do to give

# *National Review*

IS DIAL **800-341-1522** TOLL FREE

DATATEL 800™

That's right. To make it easier for you to give full-year gift subscriptions of NR (and who wouldn't appreciate such a flattering gift?) we're providing this new dial-a-gift service at no cost to you—just pick up the phone today and order as many gifts as you want (don't forget the students you care about) at our special gift rate of just $29 each. (We'll pay for the call and all postage and handling, and bill you later—quite a bargain.)




NR makes an ideal gift for hard-to-please people—it's a year-long reminder of your interest (not to mention an indication that you think they are interesting people too). Again, don't forget the young people you care about: conservative ideas are back in style on the campus, so NR should be doubly welcome now.

## So pick up the phone and dial that toll-free number

You can use it to place your personal order any time from 8 a.m. to 9 p.m. (Eastern Daylight Time). All gifts just $29 each, for which we'll bill you later.

**N.B.** ***This special number is for gifts only; our operators cannot handle any other business, queries, etc. If the line is busy, wait a few minutes and call again. We're waiting to hear from you.***

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# MODERN TIMES

## Thomas Molnar

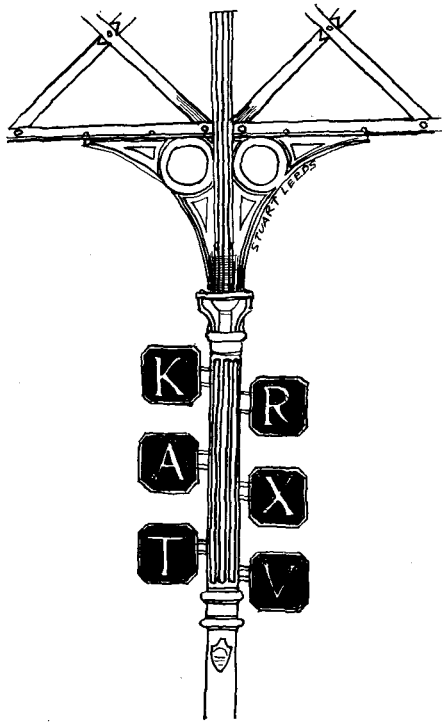
*The French Army and Politics, 1870-1970, by Alistair Horne (Peter Bedrick, 109 pp., $12.95)*

In 1962 a *New York Times* editorial warned American generals against attempting a military coup over the Cuban crisis (or over our increasing involvement in Vietnam) as the French generals had done the year before over de Gaulle's granting of independence to Algeria. The warning was probably unnecessary, as it would also have been in Alistair Horne's own Great Britain: The traditional relationship between army and civilian government varies greatly from one nation to another. De Gaulle himself revolted against Pétain's lawful government, as did the German generals against Hitler, and Pinochet against Allende. Alistair Horne's brief but careful study raises—but of course cannot answer—the question of what conditions (if any) might justify an army's rising against a government or regime perceived as detrimental to the nation. Or, put otherwise: Who is the ultimate custodian of national integrity?

Throughout centuries of monarchical government this was not a question that Frenchmen asked, but the Revolution of 1789, and after it Napoleon's rule, made it paramount. Ever since, France has been in a state of barely contained civil war, half of the population merely tolerating government by the other half. The army's role has rarely been to create an *union sacrée*; much more regularly, it was to denounce republican politicians as corrupt, traitorous, and ideologized—while waiting in the wings for their downfall. Thus, in the last hundred years (the dates of Horne's study are well chosen), the French army has cast itself as the holder of legitimacy—a Roman heritage—over against the unreliable civilian rule whose chief representatives sympathized with the Commune (Gambetta), with radicals and freemasons (Clemenceau), or with Marxism (Mitterrand). In short, the army assumed the role of the monarch, in a century when republican legitimacy was contested by a large and vigorous minority.

Thus Horne's book was bound to be primarily a political study, unlike, let us say, Benoist-Méchin's monumental *History of the German Army since the Armistice*. Indeed, more often than not in the last agitated hundred years, the French army has found itself in a tension-filled situation not conducive to concentration on exclusively military matters. It has mirrored the state of the nation, its order and disorder, and it has been entrusted with several, often contradictory, missions: defending the frontiers, breaking strikes, psychological warfare, administration of restless territories. Horne makes it clear that, from 1870 on, the officers and the republican governments have hardly ever cooperated in harmony, not even in periods of war. If his book has a flaw, it is that it carefully takes the middle course by failing to explain the officer corps's stance (generally rightist) or that of the Republic's civilian leaders (generally leftist). He makes men like Gambetta, Herriot, Blum, and Weygand look as if they were involved in violent disagreement only, instead of showing how irreconcilable were positions on opposite sides of the barricades—amounting in effect to a veritable civil war within the framework of wars against the enemy. At times, Horne seems to play up to his radical listeners (the content of the book being a series of lectures): Quoting Foch's and Weygand's prophetic words about Communism and Soviet power, he refers ironically to the army's "ugly fear" of Communism, as if it had indeed been groundless.

Clearly, and understandably, Horne has a different concept of legitimacy from that of the French generals whom he describes, often in lively and sympathetic colors. He deserves praise for trying to be objective, and mostly succeeding—objectivity being a quality that takes courage, even in the 1980s, when writing about the century's earlier decades. For example, he makes laudable efforts to see General Salan's




*Kathleen Christison is a freelance writer living in Albuquerque.*

*Thomas Molnar is the author of the forthcoming book* The Pagan Temptation, *to be published by the University Press of America later this year.*

*Loxley F. Nichols teaches English at Towson State University in Towson, Maryland. She is scheduled to make her debut in the* Flannery O'Connor Bulletin *this year.*

*Robert Royal works for the Ethics and Public Policy Center in Washington, D.C.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# This Book Will Tell Your Children More About 1984 Than They'll Ever Learn in School

And 1984 is a year they should never forget. It was a year of social, political, and economic upheaval, and so many things happened so fast that *every* Conservative will want to have a permanent record of it all at hand—one that can be relied on.

You get that and a whole lot more in *National Review*'s Bound Volume XXXVI, your personal record of an incredible year. It's all there for you and your children, history that cannot be rewritten, just as it happened, unclouded by hindsight and misinterpretation. Everything you want (and *need*) to know about the exciting events of 1984 is at your fingertips, fully indexed for quick and easy reference.

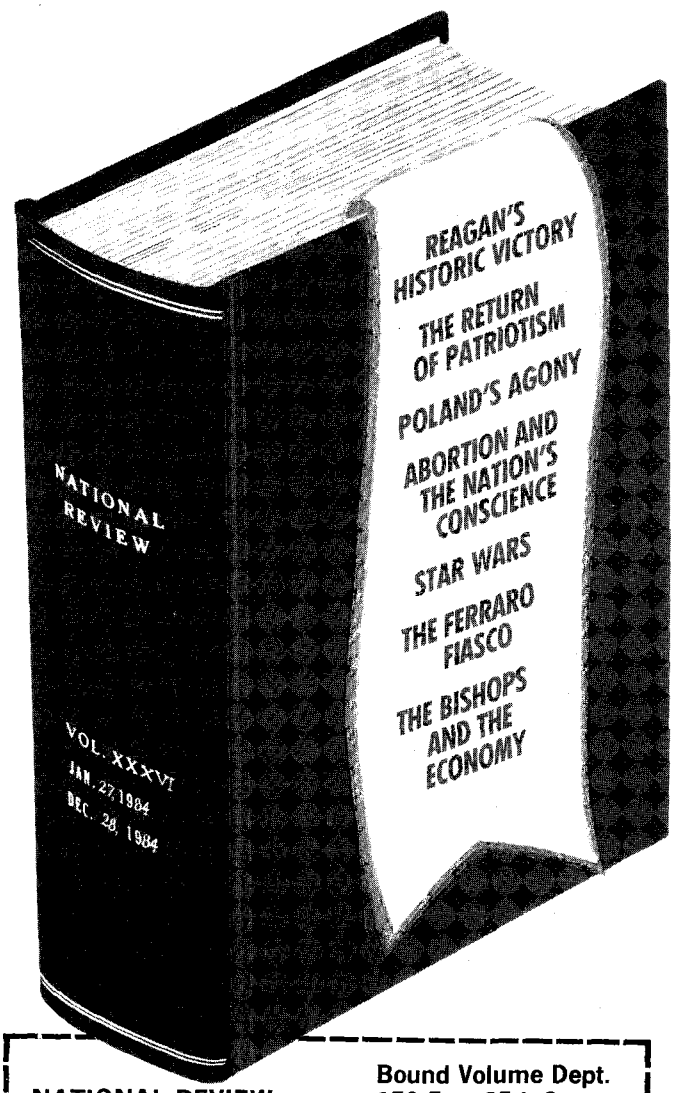
This year's Bound Volume contains over 1600 pages packed with a veritable treasure-trove of some of the best writing in America. It's something every member of your family will enjoy having handy for source material or for leisurely browsing.

## Please Act Now

Don't delay. Fill in the coupon today and send it to us to make sure a copy of this impressive book is reserved in your name (since only a limited number of copies are bound, reservations are made on a first come, first served basis). By acting promptly and ordering now, you'll be eligible for the pre-bindery price of $54.95, a saving of more than $10 over the regular price of $65.

NR's Bound Volume XXXVI is certainly one that shouldn't be missed. Start your collection *now* with this handsome book. It's bound in rich maroon roxite and imprinted in 24-carat gold to make a prize addition to any library. You may pay with order, or enclose a $10 deposit and we'll bill you for the balance when we ship you your book. Just fill in the coupon and mail it to us today. You and your whole family will be *very glad you did.*

## Get it now at this special pre-bindery price!




**NATIONAL REVIEW**

**Bound Volume Dept.**
**150 East 35th Street**
**New York, N.Y. 10016**

Gentlemen:
Please reserve a copy of *National Review*'s Bound Volume XXXVI in my name at the special pre-bindery price of just $54.95. I understand that by ordering now my name will be placed on file and I will be notified in advance of the opportunity to acquire future volumes at a special price.

☐ **I enclose my payment in full of $54.95.**

☐ **I enclose my $10. Bill me later for the balance, $44.95.**

**Name** _____ **please print**

**Address** _____

**City** _____ **State** _____ **Zip** _____

C

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## RANDOM NOTES

☐ More March Titles: In *Japan's Secret War* (Morrow, $15.95), Robert K. Wilcox hazards the shakily supported theory that the Japanese were on the verge of producing an atomic bomb of their own in 1945, and that in 1949 the Soviets built theirs at the captured Imperial research-and-development installation in Korea.

*A Vanished Present: The Memoirs of Alexander Pasternak* (Harcourt Brace, $17.95), edited and translated by Ann Pasternak Slater, looks to be an interesting document of Czarist Russia by the brother of the poet and novelist. . . . In *John Masefield's Letters from the Front 1915-17* (Franklin Watts, $18.95), edited by Peter Vansittart, literary historians of the First World War will find a moving and invaluable document. . . . *Randall Jarrell's Letters: An Autobiographical and Literary Selection* (Houghton Mifflin, $29.95), edited by Mary Jarrell, consists of some four hundred letters culled from a collection of 2,500 by the poet's third wife.

Graham Greene provides an introduction to a newly unearthed novel, *The Tenth Man* (Simon & Schuster, $14.95), that he wrote as the basis for a screenplay 41 years ago. . . . In *Travels in Greeneland: The Cinema of Graham Greene* (Quartet/Merrimack, $22.95), Quentin Falk traces the novelist's involvement with the movie world over a period of sixty years—as a reviewer, script writer, and adapter of his own works and those of other writers.

☐ Coming in April: *As I Was Saying: A Chesterton Reader* (Eerdmans, $15.95), edited by Robert Knille, is an exceptionally fine volume expertly culled from the author's voluminous body of work.

☐ Coming in May: In *This War Called Peace* (Universe, $17.95), Brian Crozier, Drew Middleton, and Jeremy Murray-Brown argue that since 1945 the Soviet Union has waged constant war with the West, and raise the question whether, despite the Reagan Administration's commitment to the revitalization of American strength, the American people themselves will show "the will to continue to fight." —CW

role in the Algerian coup attempt as similar to de Gaulle's role in rebelling against the armistice signed by Pétain. Yet, he hardly supplies the background that would enable the American reader, for example, to understand that to this day half of the French regard Salan's rebellion as legitimate, but would question de Gaulle's. It was de Gaulle who tore up the unwritten law of army solidarity—that of the "multi-headed monarch" mentioned above—in a nation where legitimacy has a large military component.

Horne writes less controversially as a historian of European conflicts and as a military sociologist. Hardly anything escapes his watchful attention: the ups and downs of soldiers' and officers' pay, the relationship of social class to officer recruitment, the pros and cons of a conscripted versus a professional army. The latter issue leads back to political considerations, and the author underlines this fact. Specifically, in France, a conscript army reminds people of the *levée en masse* ordered by the Revolution in 1792; on the other hand, it has also come to mean the education of the whole younger generation in patriotic values. The *armée de métier*, suggested by de Gaulle in the Thirties (after British and German writers), calls forth the specter of a mobile, easily manipulated "putschist" force. It has been called the anteroom of fascism, although fascist coups in this century have leaned on armies in full numbers. Anyway, mechanization and speed have now decided the issue: Today, even the Western democracies have a rapid intervention force, a small army within the larger one, as we have seen from Kolwezi to Grenada. The question has arisen in many minds: What will deter these highly trained units from developing their own *esprit de corps* and, even more, their political consciousness? The answer is not clear yet.

It is a very estimable achievement to untangle in 109 pages the many threads that compose the agitated existence of the French army. Alistair Horne loves his subject and quotes at the end another British author, Theodore Zeldin: "French history will always remain of universal historical significance." It is, indeed, the Roman history of modern times. ☐

## BEDFELLOWS

### Kathleen Christison

*The Unnatural Alliance, by James Adams (Quartet Books, 218 pp., $18.95)*

The British journalist James Adams, having examined the developing relationship between Israel and South Africa, concludes that within the next decade the two countries will be "virtually self-sufficient in arms production" and therefore economically independent, in a position to thumb their noses at international political pressure, able to influence increasing numbers of Third World nations through arms sales, and—at least in the case of Israel—more likely to use nuclear weapons if attacked.

Whatever the reader makes of Adams's sometimes overblown conclusions, the accuracy of the picture he draws of the little-heralded alliance between these two nations is undeniable. The relationship goes back to the years before Israel's creation, but the closer ties that have led the two nations to increased economic interchange and particularly to cooperation in arms production did not develop until the late 1960s—until, Adams asserts, the 1967 Arab-Israeli war put Israel, like the South African whites, in control of a hostile, alien population and showed South Africa that a besieged nation could defend itself with a combination of sophisticated armaments and superior tactics.

It is in the military field that the relationship, based largely on an exchange of South African money and materials for Israeli technology, is most far-reaching. Although Israel has publicly denied that Israeli military specialists have been seconded to South Africa, Adams claims that Israeli officials privately acknowledged to him that ap-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

proximately three hundred Israeli military personnel are in South Africa giving military and paramilitary training and working on joint arms projects. The Israelis are passing on their experience with manpower problems, counterinsurgency and anti-terrorist operations, and border security.

South Africa is a principal customer of Israel's growing armaments industry. It has purchased the Israeli-designed Reshef naval patrol craft, as well as the Gabriel missile, and it now produces its own Reshef-class vessels under license. It is believed to have made a deal for the Israeli Merkhava tank, which was battle-tested in Lebanon in 1982, and it has been trying to obtain the Israeli-designed Kfir and Lavi aircraft—the latter still under development—although export controls imposed by the U.S., which provided the jet engines for the former and has funded research and development for the latter, have held up sales.

Adams traces the development of Israel's nuclear capability, as well as South Africa's, and speculates on cooperation between the two, neither of which has signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. He repeats speculation that a mysterious explosion detected over the Indian Ocean in September 1979 was a South African nuclear test, possibly assisted by Israel. But he gives few details and is unable to provide new information or offer definitive evidence about either country's nuclear program or about cooperation between the two.

Adams's book is marred by occasional sloppiness; he misidentifies U.S. officials, cites trade statistics that do not add up, conjures up a Soviet-Syrian Friendship Treaty in 1973 that did not actually come to be until 1980, and at one point confuses plutonium and uranium-235. He also has a disconcerting tendency to make assertions of fact without citing a source and, too often, to use Arab and African sources, neither of which could be called, on this issue, disinterested. (Quartet Books, incidentally, is owned by Naim Attallah, a controversial Palestinian-born London publishing tycoon.)

Nonetheless, Adams's sources are in general numerous and reliable enough to give the book credibility, and his tone lacks the moral indignation that mars so much of what is written on South Africa and, to a lesser extent, Israel. Adams clearly has a point of view. He regards the apartheid regime in South Africa as wrong, the UN arms embargo as right, and Israel's relationship with Pretoria as puzzling, given the Jews' strong moral tradition. But he keeps his own opinions fairly unobtrusive, and he is open-minded. He can understand, even if he does not sympathize with, the relationship between two states surrounded by enemies, under intense international political pressure, and convinced that their survival depends upon self-sufficiency.

Adams posits his arguments against the relationship in terms of its international strategic implications rather than merely in moral terms. One can reject some of his conclusions. It is hard, for instance, given Israel's severe economic difficulties, its $9-billion debt to the U.S., and its heavy dependence on private and public U.S. benefaction, to envision Israel, as Adams does, "secure from the vagaries of U.S. defense policy," even a decade hence. He is also perhaps a bit too glib in his supposition that a more independent Israel would be more likely to use nuclear weapons in a future Arab-Israeli conflict. But no one can argue with Adams's thesis that the ties between Israel and South Africa are serving to strengthen both countries. The reader will have to judge for himself, in the light of his own biases, whether this is a desirable outcome. □

# NOR SET DOWN AUGHT IN MALICE

## Joseph Sobran

*The Mysterious William Shakespeare: The Myth and the Reality, by Charlton Ogburn Jr. (Dodd, Mead, 892 pp., $25)*

CHARLTON OGBURN Jr. contends that "William Shakespeare" was the pen name of Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford.

The thesis is not new. We owe it to an English schoolmaster named John Thomas Looney, who published it in a book titled *"Shakespeare" Identified* in 1920. Mr. Ogburn and his parents have now written four books (one of them remains unpublished) to bring the world around to their view.

Let this much be said: After *The Mysterious William Shakespeare*, the Oxfordian position can no longer be dismissed as eccentric. I opened the book expecting a congeries of cryptograms that could be merrily paraded before an amused reader. After two hundred pages or so I had to admit that Ogburn made a stronger case against the authorship of the Stratford man, who usually spelled his name "Shakspere," than I would have believed possible. I was skeptical still, but my sporting side gave Ogburn credit for a good argument.

But the second half of the book is a profound and assured historical study of de Vere that will simply overpower the doubts of most open-minded readers. The idea is hard to get used to, even if one tries, but the case Ogburn makes is so compelling that one senses it marks a revolution in Shakespeare studies. One way or another, Shakespeareans are going to have to come to terms with this book.

Edward de Vere was born in 1550 and virtually grew up in the court of Queen Elizabeth I. From his youth he was recognized as a prodigy in several fields: a scholar, an athlete, a poet. The Queen doted on him (for a time he may have been her lover). Few young men have ever shown such promise, or such early achievement.

He was also a turbulent personality, given to wildness, and he once stabbed and killed a servant of Elizabeth's great Lord Treasurer, William Cecil, Baron of Burghley, under mysterious circumstances. Nevertheless, Burghley welcomed him as a son-in-law, which deepens the mystery.

Now came a crucial event. De Vere set out in early 1575 on a tour of Europe. While he was intoxicated with the culture of northern Italy that was to appear in Shakespeare's comedies a few years later, he got word that his wife, Anne Cecil, was pregnant. He heard about the child's birth nearly a year after his last memory of having lain with his wife. It appears indeed that the child was not his. He returned to England in the spring of the following year, in an icy rage with both his wife and Burghley, his happiness destroyed. He abused his wife and separated himself from her for five years.

De Vere continued to distinguish himself in both arms and poetry, and was especially enamored of the theater. Eventually he reconciled with his wife, with whom he had several children before her early death. (Strangely enough,



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Burghley seems to have finally convinced Oxford that he had fathered the first child through a ruse, in which he lay with Anne while thinking her another woman. Two Shakespeare plays reproduce this unlikely situation.) He feuded with numerous others, including Sir Philip Sidney, begot an illegitimate son in an affair with one of Elizabeth's Maids of Honor, and married a second time.

Suddenly he retired from public view. Elizabeth gave him an extraordinary pension of £1,000 a year for the last 18 years of his life. Ogburn surmises that during this period he was writing most of the plays we know as Shakespeare's.

Why is this even credible? Because the plays seem to echo with hundreds of incidents, names, and turns of phrase that point to Oxford's life and career. Hardly a play of Shakespeare's fails to suggest similarities. They are most powerful in *Hamlet*; even Stratfordians acknowledge that Polonius is modeled on Burghley. The situation of the husband who suspects or rejects his wife occurs with such frequency and in so many permutations in the plays that Ogburn sees it as Oxford's lasting attempt to come to terms with the great wound of his life.

It is impossible to review all the evidence here, and I would not dream of asking a reader to take my word that it is conclusive. For me the ring of Oxford's prose—that voice!—is even more unmistakable than the note of his poetry. But the reader will naturally have to draw his own inferences.

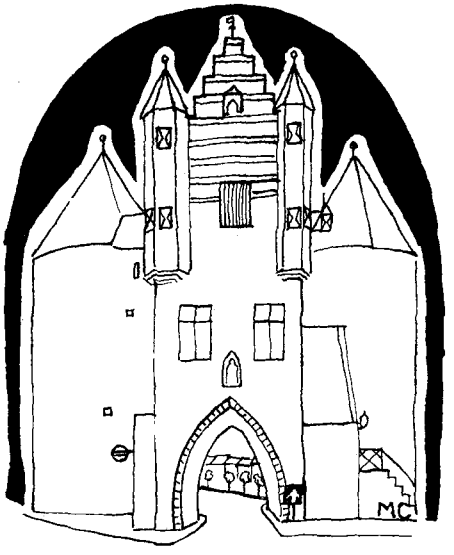
Assuming that Ogburn has hit on something, however, let me make a few remarks in favor of his thesis. Since Looney put forth the idea in 1920, more and more evidence has pointed to Oxford. Little has been added to the little that ever connected Shakspere of Stratford to the plays. If we had always thought Oxford wrote the plays, the puzzling and largely posthumous attribution of the plays to the Stratford man would count for almost nothing against the rich evidence for Oxford. Ogburn points out that the First Folio tributes to "Shakespeare" offer, astonishingly, no biographical data—not even dates of birth and death.

Why didn't Oxford acknowledge his plays? For two reasons. It was beneath the dignity of an Elizabethan nobleman to see his poetry printed, let alone to associate himself with the popular theater (except as a patron). This in itself would not have stopped Oxford, probably, but the plays refer so often to persons at court, including the Queen herself, that Oxford's authorship would have caused them to be understood as *romans à clef*. More bluntly, as libels. Shakspere served as a front man; Oxford probably thought that he would ultimately be recognized. He probably didn't expect to wait three centuries.

To his credit, Ogburn doesn't try to reduce the plays to encoded autobiography. The poet's imagination took over the materials of his life, and it hardly needs saying that Othello, Posthumus, and Leontes are anything but flattering self-portraits of their author. (They may set records for self-flagellation; Oxford deeply repented of his own cruel treatment of his first wife.) In Ogburn's sensitive hands, the story actually increases one's admiration for the genius of the poet, even as it establishes the actual roots of the poetry.

And this is why the whole question matters. The Oxford thesis gives us the kind of biographical axis for understanding the plays that our knowledge of Milton's theological and political interests gives us for understanding *Paradise Lost*. It goes without saying that we want to honor the right man (and recoil from thinking we have been honoring an impostor instead); but beyond that, it is a relief to be able to quit trying to force Shakspere's foot into the glass slipper.

Is it even plausible that a good poet, let alone one who knew himself to be incomparable, would have retired to idleness at the very height of his powers? Yet that is what the conventional view forces us to suppose, since Shakspere is held to have died, in 1616, several years after his last play appeared, whereas Oxford died in 1604. Is it any more plausible that the peerlessly mature verse of the Sonnets should be contemporary with the rather humdrum verse of *The Comedy of Errors*? Yet that is what the conventional dating of Shakespeare's career forces us to conclude. Ogburn compels —or rather allows—a radical redating of all the poet's work, so that even the great Shakespeare is given time for natural development. With one tremendous blow, traditional Shakespeare scholarship has been set on its ear.




Again, I can only urge the reader to see for himself. The proof of the pudding—the proverb is something musty. But the candid reader will find a thousand pieces falling into place, and the towering plays and poems will sound more resonantly than ever before. We can only thank Mr. Ogburn for a book that is as satisfying as it is astonishing. □

# FICTION

## TRY PUZO

### Robert Royal

*The Sicilian, by Mario Puzo (Simon & Schuster, 410 pp., $17.95)*

GENERALLY SPEAKING, the modern novel is not so much an art form as a predicament. When belief in man as the rational animal wavers, as it often does in modern fiction, one or the other of two extremes predominates: angelism (the self-regarding, purely intellectual world of ideologies, doctrinaire feminism, labyrinths, hypertrophied sensitivities, stories within stories within stories) or bestialism (radically purposeless lust and violence). The result is a loss of true imaginative power in spite of the emotional, intellectual, and literary force of a given work. We get many fictions that are, in a word, effete.

You could not apply that term to Mario Puzo's *The Sicilian*. Puzo's deliberately commercial success with the bestial in *The Godfather* may lead many readers to assume that his new



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

novel merely continues in the same vein. They would be mistaken. There is no gratuitous sex or violence here. Puzo has returned to some of the richer human material that won him critical acclaim for his early novels. He loses little of his basic animal vigor in *The Sicilian*, but he uses it in the service of a wider vision than might be expected.

The first sign of this intention is his successful creation of a believable and genuinely good character in Turi Guiliano, the Sicilian of the title. The character Guiliano, based in part on a historical figure, begins his rise to public notoriety in 1943 at the age of twenty. The Fascists have just been driven from Sicily by the American liberation forces, and the Mafia is still weak from Mussolini's harsh repression. Little by little, however, the "Friends of the Friends," as the Mafia was known in Sicily, are beginning to insinuate themselves back into power by scheming to have Mafiosi appointed to replace ousted Fascist politicians. The strict rationing laws of the new government and the black market to which they have given rise are the source of lucrative Mafia rake-offs. Official corruption, the collusion of the Sicilian nobility and the Church, and the shrewdness of Don Croce Malo (the top Mafia leader) are establishing oppression that is at least as bad as anything the Sicilian people have ever experienced.

Guiliano and a boyhood friend are caught one day on a mountain road smuggling cheese, hams, and sausage, in contravention of the rationing laws, for a village engagement party. Smuggling is so common that the authorities usually do not pay much attention to it, but this time a brutal policeman shoots Guiliano—who, however, manages to kill the policeman in spite of a serious wound.

Until this incident Guiliano had been an attractive and charismatic boy. Like many Sicilian children he had been brought up on the romantic exploits of Charlemagne and Roland in the puppet theaters. Guiliano had also been an avid reader of literature, history, and philosophy. Now, in this fluid post-Fascist period, as he hides from the police, his imagination catches fire and he dreams of liberating Sicily from her several exploiters. He hides out in the mountains and becomes a Robin Hood figure.

Not only does he steal from the rich and give to the poor, thereby winning for himself widespread support from the peasants, but he distinguishes himself for the nobility and honor with which he conducts business as a gentleman bandit. Those he is forced to kill he allows time to make their peace with God; he also often promises support for their widows and children. Those he kidnaps for ransom to help the poor come to admire him. His political maneuvers—like several of his kidnappings—are accompanied by eloquent letters to the newspapers explaining his actions and his aims of freeing the Sicilian people.

His chief opponent in all of this is Don Croce Malo, nicknamed the Good Soul. The Don is the subtle but dark intelligence that broods over the island government, the local Church, and even relationships with the government in Rome.

The Mafia in Sicily is not exactly the same as the organization that goes by that name in the United States. In Sicily, the Mafia gradually grew out of the banding together of various leaders, like Guiliano, who sought to protect themselves and the people by establishing a parallel system of justice. Later the Sicilian Mafia itself became an exploiter by using the powers that be as screens for its own operations, though it still served to remedy some wrongs that the system would not right.

Thus, though the Don comes to admire Guiliano and would like to make him heir to the Mafia empire, Guiliano in his idealism wants nothing to do with him. The two become locked in a struggle, probing one another's weaknesses in an elaborate political and moral dance of death.

Stripped to its bare essentials, Puzo's story reads much like many another adventure tale. In many respects it is. Puzo's art is a popular one with few literary pretenses. (One session at this year's Modern Language Association convention in Washington, D.C., was devoted to "The Authority and the Signifier: [Roland] Barthes and Puzo's *The Godfather*." Let us hope this does not signal the swallowing up of Puzo by the academic amoeba.) But *The Sicilian*, besides being simply a darned good read for its action and intrigue, has far stronger characterization, deeper insight, and more simple zest than most adventure stories.


A Cato Institute Conference

REASSESSING THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM

Leading political analysts will examine the political perspective of the baby boom generation, the outlook for future political coalitions, and the viability of the "liberal-conservative" spectrum. Speakers will include Michael Barone of the *Almanac of American Politics;* Lee Atwater, formerly of the Reagan-Bush campaign; Mervin Field of the California Poll; Terry Nichols Clark of the National Opinion Research Center; David Boaz of the Cato Institute; Paul Weaver of the American Enterprise Institute; and William Maddox and Stuart Lilie, authors of *Beyond Liberal and Conservative.*

**April 4, 1985**
**Washington, D.C.**

CATO INSTITUTE

Registration is $200 ($100 for non-profit organizations). It includes all panels, lunch, and reception.
**Cato Institute, Dept. NA, 224 Second St., SE**
**Washington, D.C. 20003.**
**(202) 546-0200**




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For example, all the action takes place against a highly colored landscape that Puzo occasionally succeeds in making evocative. Greeks, Latins, Carthaginians, Arabs, Normans, and others have left their mark on the Sicilian countryside, and it is fitting that the struggle between Guiliano and the Don culminates amidst the ruins of the Acropolis of Selinus, one of the better-known archaeological sites on the island. The setting of the whole novel suggests recurring human tragedy in a long-fallen world.

Puzo's value as a writer does not consist in verbal niceties, but in the vitality he is able to capture in every character and in his whole story. There are some people who will dismiss this novel as "macho" posturing. (Sicilian culture is not macho, but merely possessed of strongly defined familial and social roles.) The same people will probably profess admiration of African art for its primitiveness. *The Sicilian* is hardly sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought, but neither is it seeking refuge from sterility in the dark gods of the blood. In it the animal and the rational still exist in some kind of vital balance—not a subtle or surprising world, but an essential point of reference nonetheless.

Hilaire Belloc once suggested that if you are looking for the opposite of sentimental, try Villon. If you are looking for a current opposite of effete, try Puzo. □

# GOING TO EXCESS

## Loxley F. Nichols

*Cold Sassy Tree, by Olive Ann Burns (Ticknor & Fields, 391 pp., $16.95)*

"YOU CAN'T understand it. You would have to be born there." So says Quentin Compson in *Absalom, Absalom!*, dismissing Shreve McCannon's efforts to define the Southern identity. That the outsider—the "yankee"—cannot *know* the South is a belief deeply ingrained in the Southern consciousness. This assumption is both the consolation and the curse of the Lost Cause. What results is, as Henry James noted, "half a defiance and half a deprecation"; or, to put it another way, a pride and an insecurity—a pride felt partly in the distinction of being different, and an insecurity born largely of the isolation of being misunderstood.

In *Cold Sassy Tree* these dual strains of Southern consciousness are readily discernible, and they account for much of what is good and not so good in the novel. Olive Ann Burns cashes in quite profitably on the Southern oral tradition; tale-telling is the heart of her book. Stories are embedded in stories, and the raconteur seems to enjoy his recitation almost as much as the listener relishes the inventiveness of action and richness of detail. However, Miss Burns's love of local color, mixed with a certain defensiveness, an edge of uneasiness, leads her to excesses that the reader may find tiresome.

Olive Ann Burns seems to believe that kernels of truth are better explained than intuited. In a sense, this tendency reflects both her journalistic background and her lack of previous experience as a writer of fiction. But, on a deeper level, the author's commitment to explication—her insistence on spelling out the obvious—raises a barrier of condescension between writer and reader that bespeaks the characteristically Southern attitude toward the outsider. Will Tweedy is not just a narrator but a rather officious commentator who, all too frequently, intrudes unnecessarily to interpret events and details for the reader—the "damnyankee"—who cannot assimilate the Southern milieu:

> You need to understand that in Cold Sassy when the word "aunt" is followed by a name, it's pronounced *aint*, as in Aint Loma or Aint Carrie. We also say *dubya* for the letter "w," *sump'm* for something, *idn'* for isn't, *dudn'* for doesn't, *raig'n* for reckon, *chim'ly* for chimney, *wrench* for rinse, *sut* for soot, as in train or chim'ly sut, and *like* for lack, as in "Do you like much of bein' th'ew?" Well, I know that how we speak is part of what we are. I sure don't want Cold Sassy folks to sound like a bunch of Yankees. But I don't want us to sound ignorant, either, and pronunciations like *sump'n* and *id'n* [*sic*] sound ignorant. So I'm trying to remember not to use such—except right now to tell how Loma became Aint Loma.

Excesses and insecurities inherent in the Southern ethos are inadvertently, yet overbearingly, displayed in the author's emphasis on dialect. A person, even a native Georgian, cannot help feeling that Miss Burns overwrites the regional idiom. The authenticity of the curious names of many of the characters and the curiosities of their speech are indisputable, but well-placed expressions that punctuate rather than dominate dialogue are generally all a reader needs to capture the flavor of the spoken word. Olive Ann Burns would do well to follow the example of Flannery O'Connor in this regard.

Miss Burns is at her best when she lets her characters indulge in what they like best, namely gossip: an abundant natural resource for the Southern writer, as Eudora Welty has acknowledged in her memoir, *One Writer's Beginnings*. And religious reflections in this form are more effective than Grandpa Blakeslee's rather ponderous homilies. Thus, two Presbyterians muse about predestination as they pay their respects to the Tweedys after Will's train accident:

> "Dear boy, hit just wadn' his time to die," Miss Looly said softly.
>
> "S'pose it wadn' his time to die but it was that trestle's time to fall?" her sister breathed, touching my cheek. "Or what if it was that train engineer's time to die? What would of happened to Will?"
>
> "Shet up, Cretia," whispered Miss Looly. "Hit ain't for us to ast sech questions. Hit were the Lord's will for the boy to live. All we got to do is be thankful."

Compare the suggestiveness of this with Grandpa's "profound" analogy: "Livin' is like pourin' water out of a tumbler into a dang Coca-Cola bottle. If'n you skeered you cain't do it, you cain't. If'n you say to yoreself, 'By dang, I can do it,' then, by dang, you won't slosh a drop."

*Cold Sassy Tree* is amusing, but Miss Burns's treatment of the comic is exceedingly rich. She plays the joke for all it's worth, and in the process she sometimes plays out. We can hardly muster even a smile when we are forced to hear yet once again about Grandpa's turning over the privy with the Yankee railroad bigwig inside. And the repetition of detail with which characters are reintroduced detracts from the humor of the original description: "Aunt Carrie, remember, was the one who read poetry, studied Latin and Greek, talked cultured, believed in human excrement, and put mourning dye on Mary Toy's hair for Granny's funeral."

*Cold Sassy Tree* is a genuine Southern novel in substance, form, and voice. Set in an historically accurate



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

background, it is a story about death —the death of an era, as well as the little deaths of individuals. It is also about religion, caste, and—of course—The War. Throughout her book, the author humorously harnesses the old-fashioned to the new-fangled, and in so doing creates a tension of forces that is similarly embodied in her 14-year-old narrator, who, on the brink of change himself, is torn between nostalgia and curiosity.

As a novelist, Olive Ann Burns will need to learn to put greater trust in her audience, as well as in herself. In her efforts to combat what she considers Northern provinciality and ignorance of the ways of the South, she simply *tries* too hard; and so, rather than drawing the reader into her confidence, she deepens the chasm with patronizing and apologetic explanations. We may, however, finally excuse her for her clannishness; for what true Southerner, writer or not, does not in his heart believe that only someone who was "born there" can truly know the South? □

## MONK MEETS GIRL (ETC.)

### D. Keith Mano

*Confessions of a Taoist on Wall Street, by David Payne (Houghton Mifflin, 735 pp., $17.95)*

MY OPINION of this novel "closed mixed," as they say on Wall Street. Tao and Dow: 735 long pages written to elaborate that single pun. When first I understood what David Payne had in mind—no less than a transpacific bridge, Chinese mysticism and American finance interlacing—I got all carbonated up. This is the sort of imaginative reach you hope for from fiction: beats another egg coddler about lawn care and infidelity in Westport. And there did appear to be an intriguing parallel—the bull and bear, for one, are critical in Taoist symbology. Sun I, Payne's young first-person protagonist (half Chinese, half American, orphan son to a rich American ex-Flying Tiger), seemed some sort of wonderful genetic oxymoron. This would be like having your Merrill Lynch broker say, "It is the emptiness


The National Conservative Foundation
Is Accepting Applications
For Scholarships To

**Campaign Finance Schools**

April 10, 11, 12; June 3, 4, 5; August 5, 6, 7

*Subjects:* The Finance Director • Building and Maintaining a Finance Committee • Special Events • Phone Banks • Setting Up a Budget • Computer Technology • Soliciting PACs and Party Committees • FEC Regulations • What Motivates People to Give? • Building and Maintaining a Finance Committee • TV Advertising as a Fundraising Tool

**Campaign Management Schools**

May 13, 14, 15, 16, 17; July 8, 9, 10, 11, 12; September 2, 3, 4, 5, 6

*Subjects:* Polling • Targeting • Paid Media • Computer Technology • Direct Mail • FEC Regulations • Volunteer Recruitment • Voter Identification • Scheduling • Budgeting and Accounting • Free Media • Fundraising • Research Management Systems

For More Information and Applications
contact
Ellen Mosley
(703) 548-0900

**The National Conservative Foundation**
1001 Prince Street
Alexandria, VA 22314

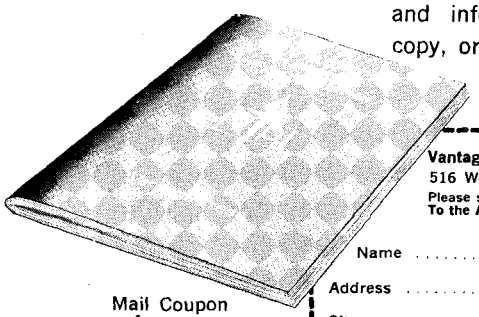


**To the author in search of a publisher**

YOU ARE INVITED to send for a free, illustrated brochure which explains how your book (or your organization's) can be published, promoted and marketed.

Whether your subject is fiction, non-fiction or poetry, scientific, scholarly, specialized (even controversial) this handsome 40 page brochure will show you how to arrange for prompt publication.

Unpublished authors, especially, will find this booklet valuable and informative. For your free copy, or more information, fill in and mail the coupon.



Mail Coupon for your Free Copy

Vantage Press, Inc. Dept. AO-1
516 West 34th St., New York, N.Y. 10001
Please send me a complimentary copy of
To the Author in Search of a Publisher.

Name .....
Address .....
City ..... State ..... Zip .....

*Offices in Washington, D.C. and Hollywood, Calif.*




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that will make the cup useful." Moreover, Payne's first segment—set in a Szechwan Taoist monastery—felt brilliant, real as Greek fire. By page four hundred I suspected it felt brilliant, real because I don't know diddly-whip about Taoism or Szechwan.

For, except in the most general sense, Payne's Tao-Dow conceit didn't hold air or my attention much. Sun I assumed that he could locate a "delta" where free-market law debouches into Taoist One. Well, so? It does by definition, doesn't it? There is neither synthesis nor true opposition. Creationist/evolutionist debates are rather like that—only controversial if you insist on making them so. And Sun I will insist. Meantime the narrative life of *Taoist on Wall Street* has turned mandarin and, worse, predictable: in effect a 1940 Hollywood film scenario with some high-priced intellectual options. Honest, innocent young monk has just come to New York. Meets young, innocent, honest girl. Has spectacular financial success. Follows arrogance, overreaching, impurity. Falls for cynical, uninnocent (but gorgeous) woman and drops his most trusted advisor, also honest girl. Disaster then, as required by the Breen Office. Topple from power because of hubris and heavy Taoist root loss. Payne has tried compensating for his conventional drift with language and size, but six Irish minstrels each eloquent enough to skin a fairy couldn't cover that spread.

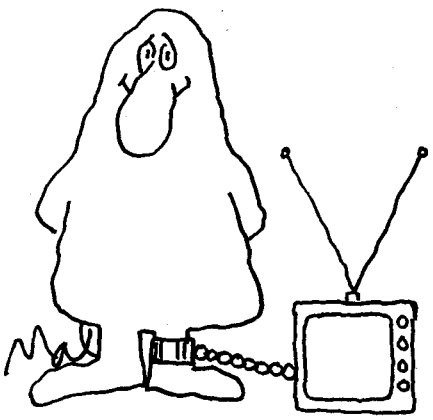
The style, as well, exasperated me. For each felicity (and they are abundant: "filament of her soul," "tweaks for ears") figure at least one phrase made with bloat and sebum. Plus, now and then, a foolish, hem-hawing syntax. Sun I, you suppose, got his English from the Famous Periphrasts' School.

> I craved our dark accounting, craved it with every fiber of my being. To pay the price. To pay up and pay out . . . And that knowledge—the greatness of the price, the completeness of it—made it sweet, as sweet as the Communion wine, as sweet as the blood of a child, the child within my heart which I now sacrificed with full permission of my will, the child in him, in Love, those two children one child, his and mine, which we would now most fearfully cleave in our most strict accounting.

Some elision is wanted here: at least half the "sweets" and "pays" and "children" could go. This is a desperate rhetorical firework: the device of writers who are unsure in their creative power and so hype faith, as Hare Krishna folk do, by mere singsong.

In a preface to *Taoist on Wall Street* Payne has covered his tail by using Nathaniel Hawthorne as wingman. American fiction, Hawthorne thought, was more romance than historical-social document. I would tend to concur (see Richard Chase, *The American Novel and Its Tradition*): not *Pride and Prejudice*, real ocean with an imaginary whale in it. But that ocean must be convincing. Unfortunately Payne's factual carelessness—not the romantic plot—has depreciated his strength. Mayor Koch should require an environmental-impact statement. Sun I, for example, will enter New York by ship through Hell Gate. Nice symbolism—except that Hell Gate lies nowhere near New York Harbor. His Christian atmosphere (central to the Tao-Dow interchange) is even more slovenly. Just off my head top Payne has misused "pyx," misquoted Milton, put bingo in an Episcopal church (forbidden there), and taken the Common Prayer Eucharist quite out of sequence. Moreover, his instinct for that faith in liberal New York (imagine an Episcopal minister who *knew*, let alone led his life by, the 39 Articles) is laughably unreliable. After reading this American evidence, I could imagine what rancid *dim sum* Payne had fed me about Szechwan or stock analysis.

But that, I surmise, is the result of inexperience and youthful bravado. Payne can't leave any topic—cultural, ideological, geographical—alone. *Taoist* (which won the Houghton Mifflin Award) lacks concision and self-discipline: it would've been a better four-hundred-page book. (Did I really need to hear the Oedipus myth retold at length?) Young writers, uncertain, suppose that an encyclopedic, ambitious attack can disguise awkwardness. Give Payne time and maturing: he'll produce more than a new-laid thousand-year-old egg. There is enormous talent here. Next book, just let him not use it so enormously. □



# FILM

## FANCY MEETING PLAIN AGAIN

### John Simon

PETER WEIR is far from being the most talented, but is surely the most successful, current Australian filmmaker. The combination is unsurprising: It tends to take history decades to evaluate talent or its lack accurately, and the public is rather slower than that. With *Witness*, Weir (*Gallipoli*, *The Year of Living Dangerously*) has made his first American movie, and it is no better, no less phony, than his Australian films. It is visually arresting, it has spurts of melodramatic excitement, and it is about as artistic as "Waltzing Matilda" played by a two-hundred-piece symphonic orchestra.

*Witness* begins with an Amish funeral near Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Black-clad Amish are walking through wheat as high as a donkey's eye. Why they should make things bad for the crop and hard for themselves instead of choosing the road is perfectly obvious: The shot is colorfully black-and-gold, quaint, and picturesque, with strange black hats barely bobbing above the wheat. For a director of Weir's stamp that is reason enough. Newly widowed young Rachel Lapp is off with Samuel, her eight-year-old, to visit relatives in Baltimore. Having missed a connection in Philadelphia, the two must bide their time in the railway waiting room. Here we get wordlessly cute touches, such as the quizzical glances exchanged between little Samuel and an old Hassid, first attracted, then estranged by their similar yet different garb. In the deserted men's room, Samuel witnesses a brutal murder (all murders are brutal, but Weir's more so) in which two cops who are part of a multimillion-dollar dope ring do in a third. That small, unworldly Samuel should be able to trick such experienced searchers in-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to not discovering him firmly situates *Witness* in the flimsy realm of make-believe.

Rachel and Samuel are detained by the tough but honest police captain, John Book (white), who, with his tough but honest sidekick (black), conducts the investigation. Pronto, we are doused with contrasts: violent Philly *v.* idyllic Lancaster, foul-spoken Book *v.* clean-mouthed Rachel, Book's fornicating divorcée sister (with whom John shelters the Lapps) *v.* the chaste widow Rachel—in short, urban sleaziness and dirt *v.* country purity and piety. That these Amish live in 1985 as if it were 1800 (no telephones, TV, radio, cars, music, dancing, close contacts with the outside world—or even buttons, those devil's baubles fostering human vanity) strikes the filmmakers as wonderful. No cameras or movie houses, either; but such embarrassing virtues are overlooked. There is something distastefully disingenuous about the lip-smacking deference with which these Dream City slickers extol the exotic unworldliness of the Amish rustics, comparable to the eighteenth century's worship of the noble savage. But at least Rousseau, Diderot, and the rest had the excuse of never having known any savages, noble or otherwise; these filmmakers, however, spent a long time on location.

Samuel identifies one of the murderous cops, and Book in turn discovers that his own superior is running the dope ring. Severely wounded in a shootout with one of the malefactors, Book yet manages to drive Rachel and Samuel back to the Lapp farm, and there passes out. After some perfunctory compunctions, a good Amish leech (surely the *mot juste*) cures Book with natural remedies and Rachel's devoted care. Soon John becomes like one of the true Amish, even wearing the dead Lapp's clothes, which have to be way too short for him so that he may look "plain" (the Amish term for humble and devout) in the eyes of God, and a sight gag in the eyes of the moviegoers. Rachel and John start falling in love despite Grandpa Lapp's warning that she will end up being "shunned" (ostracized), after he catches them dancing in the nocturnal barn by the lights and radio of John's car.

Though Book's recovery is now complete, he does nothing about the dope ring beyond ringing up his partner from the area's general store. (The film's only good line is Rachel's telling John that the nearest phone is miles away on the farm of some—she utters the word with mild contempt—Mennonites.) Book and his partner contemplate calling in the FBI or the press but do nothing, whereupon the partner is duly bumped off. Book makes a threatening phone call to his murderous boss, but still does nothing else. The film proceeds to explore the joys of plain living, such as getting up before dawn to milk the cows, which Book does awkwardly; carpentering, which he does better; and exchanging loving glances with Rachel, at which he is best, especially during a barn raising at which he carpenters and she waits on the communal tables. The two swap so many *œillades* that it is a miracle the milk doesn't end up in a Lapp's lap, and Book's finger nailed to the roof beam.

Barn raising is the *locus classicus* for such works; we've had it in *Seven Brides for Seven Brothers* on stage and screen, and even in *Plain and Fancy* (1955), a Broadway musical about a pair of urban sophisticates redeemed by a stay among the Amish. But more than barns, hopes are being raised here as Rachel, one fine day—or, rather, one stormy night—is caught by Book during her evening ablutions, and with unaffected innocence reveals her proud, young bosom to him. (Some platitudes never droop.) But Book leaves her as untouched as the dope ring, explaining that, were he to yield,


# OVERPOPULATION: ILLEGAL

THE BUREAU OF POPULATION
AND ENVIRONMENT
14815 PENNSYLVANIA AVE.
WASHINGTON, D.C.
00100-DF-XXXY3420

In these early years of the 1990's the data presently available confirm that we indeed live in apocalyptic times. We at the Bureau of Population and Environment intend to implement the following drastic measures:

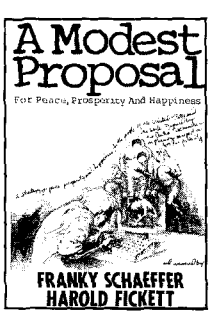
1. Pregnant women with more than one child will undergo mandatory FTR procedure (Fetal Tissue Removal)
2. Product of FTR procedure will be divided into two categories:
   a. Surviving Fetal Matter (SFM)
   b. Non-surviving Fetal Matter (NSFM)
3. NSFM will be processed and packaged as protein-rich *Homomass*

Not only will this Master Plan solve the world's hunger problem, it will in fact lead to a just society. The current revolution in our understanding of human biology has signalled the coming of a New Age.

**The most delectable satire of our time**

Available in fine bookstores everywhere. ISBN 5921-5 $7.95 trade paper. Illustrated.

**Thomas Nelson Publishers,** P.O. Box 141000 Nashville TN 37214-1000




**Please send me_____copies of *A Modest Proposal* by Franky Schaeffer & Harold Fickett. Enclosed is check or money order for $_____. Add $1.50 for shipping and handling.**

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

PHONE _____

Or call to place order: 1-800-872-4445 (Tennessee call 1-800-821-4370) VISA or MasterCard accepted




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

either she would have to leave or he would have to stay. This would not do—at least not that night. But a couple of nights later the affair is consummated, with neither of the aforementioned dire consequences. Instead, the bad guys come to get Book, and there is a showdown, marginally more thrilling than the barn raising. Now Book does have to leave, but coming in the opposite direction is the fine young Amish fellow (played by the Russian dancer Alexander Godunov) who all along was waiting to wed Rachel. A bittersweet ending, markedly and marketably more sweet than bitter.

Even the Amish speech is inconsistent here, let alone the thinking. When Rachel and John are dancing and romancing, emancipation seems to be the proper thing. But when herbal healing works wonders, when Book carves a new birdhouse for Samuel, and when at the end Godunov comes sauntering toward Rachel, the primitive proves sublime. Rachel and John have had their sweet fling and can share a rapturous memory (forget *nessun maggior dolore*!), then let each proceed along his nicely preordained path.

Harrison Ford does a decent, solid job of Book (though he needs to perfect his self-sacrifice before taking on the Book of Job), but Kelly McGillis is a real drama-school actress (as she was also in the dreadful *Reuben, Reuben*). Though she is very pretty from some angles, the moment her cast-iron jaw takes over the screen, she might as well be some country weather vane. Godunov knows how to look intensely casual, and little Lukas Haas is as good as golden wheat as Samuel. Even if the Amish have no telephones, the dialogue sounds phoned in; the camera work is steadily fetching. If film were, as is sometimes asserted, a purely visual medium, the visuals might be enough. But it isn't, and they aren't.

THE RETURN OF THE SOLDIER, based on the first novel of the then 24-year-old Rebecca West, is the second theatrical film of the British television director Alan Bridges. His *The Hireling* (1973) dealt likewise with the foundering of love on England's rigid social barriers, and it too was a watchable film, no less and no more. Ten years later (*Soldier* was kept on the shelf a couple of years), Bridges again explores how an upper-class person, this time a man, misses out on happiness with a lower-class woman. Shell-shocked in World War I, Chris Baldry suffers from amnesia. Passionately he remembers Margaret, his youthful romance, now a dowdy, married drudge; dimly, as one does a childhood playmate, he recalls Jenny, his still adoring spinster cousin; not at all does he recognize Kitty, his haughty, gelid, self-centered wife.

How this amnesiac staggers and lurches among these three women, who in their various ways still love him, makes for a respectable, predictable, and finally uninvolving tale. What interest there is is in the situation, not in the development, of which there is hardly any. We are roughly on the level of *Random Harvest*, the 1942 amnesia film, but far below Jean Anouilh's riveting 1936 play, *Le Voyageur sans bagage*. There is fine production design by Luciana Arrighi, appropriate costuming by Shirley Russell, suitable music (Richard Rodney Bennett) and cinematography (Stephen Goldblatt), and Hugh Whitemore's screenplay deviates minimally from the true West.

Bridges has directed with conventional knowhow full of misty flashbacks, and the only real interest—not necessarily wholesome—is in the casting and acting. Alan Bates has played a virile, sexy, but somehow off-kilter hero so many times that he could do it not only in his sleep but even with amnesia; Julie Christie can do the cold bitch Kitty with only slightly diminished good looks and undiminished histrionic mediocrity. But casting Glenda Jackson as even a former beauty, and as warm and life-enhancing, is a royal jest; and Ann-Margret as British, refined, and suffering with genteel self-abnegation is even funnier, though critics such as Vincent Canby prostrated themselves before this performance. Casting a pitchfork as a dessert spoon would be just as impressive. □

## SOUND ON DISC

# AN OLLA PODRIDA OF JAZZ

### Ralph de Toledano

IF SOMEONE ever writes an adequate history of jazz, he will cast a light on that dark age for white musicians, the early Depression years. Turning on his radio then the hardy householder would hear the heigh-ho-everybody of Rudy Vallee, or Wayne King's saccharine waltzes, or Russ Columbo's androgynous croonings. To hear jazz, the embattled citizenry had to journey to Harlem's dance halls and nightclubs, their counterparts in Chicago's North Side, or those other oases in Kansas City or uptown New Orleans. White musicians were left to gig for coffee and cakes or play among the off-key saxophones of Guy Lombardo. It was not much of a life.

But jazz is a magnificent obsession. After a stint with the commercial bands, white jazzmen could redistill their juices at after-hours jam sessions, drinking Prohibition rotgut and making music. Every now and then the recording companies would relent sufficiently to assemble a group of white jazzmen for a session. And there was always John Hammond, a crew-cut Yalie dropout with enough of the long green to devote himself to the perpetuation of jazz. Back in the Thirties, he would say to me, "Hey, Ralph, there's a great piano player at a beer garden out in Staten Island"—and I would be introduced to the likes of Art Hodes. Returning from a winter night's drive to the boondocks, John would kick off his shoes to let the cold metal of the accelerator pedal keep him awake in the wee hours.

But John Hammond did more than that. By sheer *chutzpah* he was able to push some of the English recording companies to do major jazz recording. And this led to a series of recording dates that DRG/Swing has now reissued as part of its "historic jazz" project. The musicians he assembled make up a Who's Who of the best—Bunny Berrigan, Jack Teagarden, Benny Goodman, Gene Krupa, Eddie Lang, Jess Stacy . . . You know what instruments they played.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DRG/Swing's two-record album *Jazz in the Thirties* brings together some of those Hammond dates. I mention first a Benny Goodman pickup group featuring Jack Teagarden. Two of the sides they cut were "I Gotta Right to Sing the Blues" and "Texas Tea Party" —the "Texas" honoring Big T and the "tea" honoring pot—with Teagarden singing the lyrics with fine irony and playing his beautifully rounded and blues-based trombone. Goodman's tone in those days was reedy, and his solos were down-to-the-boots jazz. And they had Jess Stacy, his slicked hair making him look like a turn-of-the-century bartender, giving out with some of the most solid piano this side of the Ninth Avenue that was. Stacy cut some sides of his own—two of Bix Beiderbecke's off-chord piano solos and his own rolling "Barrelhouse"—an event in pianistic jazz.

Gene Krupa, with the young and deeply talented Israel Crosby, recorded a memorable concerto for string bass, "Blues of Israel," as well as a "Jazz Me Blues," both of which show what a fine drummer he was before he began flashing the sticks. But the demonstration of genius, if I am not rushing the word, in *Jazz in the Thirties* is the sides cut by Bunny Berrigan. Bunny could play it clean or dirty, high register or low, lyric or gutbucket, and had he not fallen into the bottle and drowned therein, he would have achieved the recognition he merited as one of the great trumpets of all jazz. In this album, his "I'm Coming, Virginia"—building on Bix's solos—and his surging "Blues" tell it all.

There is much more to this album—not the least of which are the sides cut by that witty tenor sax, Bud Freeman, and a number of others by Joe Venuti, almost making the fiddle a jazz instrument, and the legendary guitarist Eddie Lang. Also from DRG/Swing is Valaida Snow's *Swing Is the Thing*, featuring the fine vocalizing and

# THE RIGHT BOOKS / CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

CARLOS ALBERTO MONTANER, born in Cuba in 1943 and currently living in exile in Spain, is a novelist, journalist, essayist, and film-script writer who has also been a press correspondent in a number of Latin American, European, and Middle Eastern countries, and who writes a column syndicated in various Spanish and Latin American newspapers. In *Cuba, Castro, and the Caribbean: The Cuban Revolution and the Crisis in Western Conscience* (Transaction Books, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J. 08903; $19.95), translated by Nelson Duran, he has written one of the most interesting, solid, and at the same time provocative analyses to date of the impact of Castroism on present-day Cuba, of the probable future of Sovietization in that country, and of the choices that confront the United States in its attempts to destabilize the destabilizers of the Caribbean basin.

Like every messianic leader, Castro considers himself not *primus inter pares*, but simply *primus*: a unique figure sprung full-blown from his own head —outside of the history he denied, and continues to deny, at his risk. With perhaps willful ignorance, Castro, in adopting the Soviet system for his model and the Kremlin for his protector, missed the essential truth that the Communist world is not the direct opposite of the Western one, but its offshoot: in Montaner's words, "a huge and cumbersome Western appendix, thinly veiled under lofty rhetoric and singular successes in space exploration and military-related industries." The result is that, "by accepting Soviet overlordship, Castro was not able to evade the cultural leadership of the West. He merely adulterated this leadership by putting it through a thick and useless sieve." Castro "is not rescuing Cuba from the West but simply delaying and deforming an inevitable process."

While ridiculing the so-called "neo-annexationists"—largely Cubans in exile attempting to summon back the expansionist fervor of the ante-bellum —Montaner emphasizes the close political, cultural, and economic ties that historically existed between the mainland giant and the tiny island, ties that Castro is incapable of eradicating. In fact, in the relationship between Cuba and the United States Montaner discovers a paradigm for the one that exists between Central and South America and Western civilization as a whole. For better or worse, he believes, modernity is synonymous with the West:

> We are condemned to live within the same system and pursue the same objectives as other Western countries. We can only advance toward the vanguard if we emulate the attitudes of those who lead. It is indispensable to reform all our educational efforts to disseminate those social virtues and to change aspects of our character that relegate us to oppression and backwardness.

Montaner's impatience with the self-pitying perversity, coupled with resentful envy, manifested by Latin American attitudes toward the West in general but in particular toward the United States is counterbalanced by an almost equal frustration with what the author regards as undue insensitivity on the part of Washington toward the *amour-propre* of its southern neighbors. The U.S., he complains, is guilty of "near total indifference" to the south in everything but military alliances, even when the life of that region continues to approach more and more nearly the life of what José Martí called "the mixed-up and brutal North that despises us." By contrast, the Soviets are "more skilled in projecting the image that countries under their domination are integrated into their collective efforts."

When it comes to coping with the problem of Soviet penetration in Latin America, Montaner, in an excellent concluding chapter, stresses the United States' need for allies and considers how it may acquire them. Since the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823, European nations (including those that currently make up the NATO alliance) have been on notice to keep their noses out of the affairs of the Western Hemisphere, but now they need to be invited to meddle again, as indeed they are already doing. So far, they have not shown themselves to be astute in gauging either the magnitude or the significance of a Castroization of Latin America, and it is up to Washington to correct their distortions of vision. Meanwhile, Montaner urges, "Perhaps it also needs to learn from Western Europe how to relate to Latin Americans and forge the alliances needed to protect the common interests of the New World." □



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

equally fine trumpet of a performer who stopped the show in Eubie Blake's *Shuffle Along*, took London by storm, and would have remained at the top had she not been seized by the Nazis during World War II and been broken both physically and psychologically. Some of the material in this album is a little thin, but Valaida makes it all ring true.

Jazz had its glorious past, and this has come full circle with musicians who have revived the great days of New Orleans and Chicago. There are jazz groups today that know not Juilliard or Curtis and that hark back stylistically and spiritually to Jelly Roll Morton, King Oliver, and Jimmie Noone's Apex Gardens orchestra. They eschew bop, beep, and boop, worshipping at older jazz shrines, and stick to that easy two-to-the-bar beat, misnamed Dixieland, which had a half-life during the Swing Era. The names of the musicians in these groups are not exactly household words, but they are eminent votaries of a great style.

Stomp Off Records (549 Fairview Terrace, York, Pa. 17403) makes a specialty of this old *cum* contemporary music, and if you *dig*, what it produces is for you. Of note is *Uptown Jazz* by the Louisiana Repertory Jazz Ensemble (LRJE), founded in New Orleans some five years ago, the most authentic in its *genre*, which has ranged these United States and even crawled under the Iron Curtain to concertize in the Soviet Union. *Uptown Jazz* is a small anthology of famous New Orleans pieces, made famous by King Oliver, Louis Armstrong, and others in that city's jazz galaxy. The LRJE play it strictly as it was in the classic period of jazz—the head arrangements that became set pieces now come to life again.

Of a later vintage, and therefore closer to our appreciation, are two other Stomp Off releases—*Pass Out Lightly* by the State Street Aces and *One in a Million* by the Chicago Rhythm Band. The Chicago group finds its *métier* in the Windy City music of the late Twenties when white and black musicians, still rooted in the blues, were taking jazz beyond what had been wrought in New Orleans. The State Street Aces, a highly accomplished studio group, re-create the pop and show tunes of the same era in intricate but relaxed arrangements. These three, which belong in any serious jazz collection, are joined by another Stomp Off release, *If You Don't, I Know Who Will*—blues and double-entendre night-club numbers sung by Carol Leigh. Her voice is lighter and less commanding than, let us say, Bessie Smith's, but true to the style and of the kind you could hear decades ago along Harlem's Lenox Avenue or Chicago's North Kedzie—all very satisfying. Carol Leigh does not try to tie the scale into microtone knots but delivers as wanted.

For a moldy fig such as myself, this is the best of fare—and it should be, as old Satchmo used to say, "red beans and ricely yours." □

# BOOKS IN BRIEF

*Music and Ballet 1973-1983, by B. H. Haggin (Horizon, 282 pp., $18.95)*

FORTY YEARS AGO, *The Nation* had the best back-of-the-book section in the magazine business. James Agee's vivid movie reviews appeared regularly; Diana Trilling was making a well-deserved name for herself with her "Fiction in Review" column; and musical events were covered by B. H. Haggin, a fearless, tough-minded critic whose admirers included Dwight Macdonald, Stark Young, Randall Jarrell, and Arturo Toscanini. *The Nation* has long since hardened into a sclerotic house organ for the Friends of Alger Hiss, but B. H. Haggin, 84 years old and as ferociously independent as ever, continues to chronicle the musical scene, now for *The Yale Review*. In his latest book, *Music and Ballet 1973-1983*, Haggin zeroes in on an assortment of familiar targets: atonal music, Glenn Gould's "perverse" approach to Mozart, the latest fashions in opera production. Even his index is abrasive. ("Rockwell: rubbish on Toscanini and the New York Philharmonic, 40.") Still, it is Haggin's warm, intensely judicious praise—of Balanchine, Toscanini, Van Cliburn—that stays with the reader longest. Like John Simon, he has an unerring eye for the first-rate. (Who would have expected the man Samuel Lipman once compared to F. R. Leavis to appreciate the soft-shoe antics of Mikhail Baryshnikov in *Push Comes to Shove*?) And as for Haggin's so-called "narrowness," one might well quote his own cogent explanation of why Toscanini stopped conducting modern music: "He thought it reasonable that what he had done in his youth should now be left to his young contemporaries, who had an understanding and feeling for the new music that he didn't have, while he increased his insight into the great music of the past." B. H. Haggin has been increasing his insight into the great music of the past since 1929. We're lucky to have him around. TERRY TEACHOUT

**CARPENTER**

(Continued from page 42)

excessive control over all aspects of public and private life, slowly moving toward a one-party state and the gradual elimination of freedom. Papandreou has intimated that the New Democracy Party, if it wins the next elections (which must be held no later than October but could come as early as May), would not be *allowed* to govern Greece. Papandreou said: "I am not worried: The people are standing by, the armed forces are standing by. No more nightmares!" It is potent stuff to hear any prime minister indicate that military intervention will keep his party in power if it loses a democratic election. But the disquiet is intensified when one recalls that Papandreou is not simply the prime minister but also the minister of defense, and that the State Intelligence Agency is under his direct control. Add to that the fact that the PASOK/Communist coalition has recently shoved a law through parliament that unifies the police forces nationwide, thereby creating an armed state militia under the control of PASOK political appointees, and that recent purges in the officer corps have resulted in PASOK/Communist sympathizers' being promoted to high posts within the armed forces. The undercurrent of alarm is understandable.

In a move most uncommon for one who normally stayed above the fray, former President Constantine Karamanlis warned before his resignation that "experimentation in foreign relations could lead to weakening of the nation's defensive capabilities," adding that Greece might find "itself in international political isolation, which could whet the appetite of a prospective aggressor."

Will Papandreou, looking to the coming elections, turn his foreign policy around and become at least a tolerable



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ally of the West, or will he move still further left? One well-placed former government official summed it up thus: "To gamble that Andreas will become rational either in word or in deed is too high a risk for Greece to run."

Constantine Mitsotakis, leader of the New Democracy Party, has no doubt that his party will give PASOK a sound drubbing no matter when the national elections are held. Offering hope amidst otherwise bleak prospects, the former minister of foreign affairs states: "When New Democracy returns to power—because I believe we are going to win at the coming elections—we shall be able very easily and quickly to return the foreign policy to its correct path." Mitsotakis's remarks to this writer tempered optimism with apprehension, however, and serve as an excellent encapsulation of the current state of affairs: "The damage created by Papandreou's foreign policy until now is not irreparable. However, should Papandreou remain in office for another term, he will become truly dangerous." □

**MARKMAN**

(Continued from page 44)

an MBE-type program? Who is going to judge whether this person is "black" enough or "Indian" enough to qualify for these benefits? Surely, a system of self-identification is inadequate. The old Department of Housing, Education, and Welfare (HEW) definition of "Negroes" as "persons considered by themselves . . . to be of Negro origin" certainly wouldn't weed out many individuals. Similarly, the racial "eyeball" system wherein federal supervisors undertake their own subjective analyses of the complexion of their staff is inadequate for a large-scale program of racial entitlements. The dilemma here, as articulated by Mrs. Phillips's Louisiana attorney, is that "we just don't know what makes a person colored."

Where big federal bucks are involved, there must ultimately be some formal structure in which those entitled to such bucks can be afforded their due-process rights to a fair and orderly determination. "You can put a dollar sign in front of the numbers," observed former Census Director Vincent Barabba in describing the importance of determining racial populations in the United States. Only partly tongue-in-cheek, Senator Orrin Hatch (R., Utah) suggested several years ago the eventual need for something akin to a Racial Classification Review Board.

There will be the need for more than an adjudicating body, however. There will also be the need for standards by which this body may determine who fits into particular racial categories. Is the contractor who is one-quarter black entitled to benefits? What if he is only one-eighth black? No doubt, government technocrats will be required to undertake detailed analyses prior to establishing any definition, in order to estimate what effects alternative definitions would have on the federal budget. Crude efforts by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in this regard have been singularly unhelpful and have foundered on such controversies as whether to characterize natives of India as "white" or as "Asians and Pacific Islanders."

In addition, procedures will have to be formalized. Where, for example, does the burden of proof lie—with the individual claiming eligibility for the benefit or with the government? How detailed an evidentiary record is necessary in order to demonstrate one's pedigree to the proper public officials? Are racial "eyeball" identifications consistent with the constitutional standards of "due process"? Is it a denial of "equal protection" for individuals separated by a mere one-32nd of "Negro blood" to be treated differently by public authorities?

Fortunately, there are precedents that can usefully be looked to in regard to these and other questions. U.S. Supreme Court Justice John Paul Stevens, for example, noted in his dissent in the *Fullilove* case: "If the national government is to make a serious effort to define racial classes by criteria that can be administered objectively, it must study such precedents as the First Regulation to the Reich's Citizenship Law of 1935, which went into considerable detail in determining who met its standards of being a 'Jew.'" Professor Bittker speaks, not unapprovingly, of the South African Registration Act in this respect and notes, as well, that "the laws used by the Southern states to enforce their segregation and anti-miscegenation laws could be resurrected." As he correctly points out, "Racial classification is not a new art."

While statutes of the Louisiana sort no doubt possessed considerable utility during the era of Jim Crow, in the end they had become little more than anachronistic embarrassments. For a short period of time in the 1950s and 1960s, as race began to count less in matters of public policy, the need for such statutes was obviated. As the nation continues down the road of quotas and goals and timetables, however, and as race becomes increasingly important in public decisions, it is difficult to see how we can avoid reviving such statutes, albeit in a more sophisticated form. If race is to matter in fashioning public policy, it will matter how we define race. □


**CALL FOR ANY CURRENT BOOK.**

BOOK CALL™

**1-800-255-2665**

In Connecticut call 1-966-5470.

• Amex, MasterCard, Visa or check. • We ship immediately, anywhere in the world. • Gift wrapping available. • Mail orders welcome.

59 Elm Street, New Canaan, CT 06840

**THE GREAT UNIVERSITIES**

provided the ground for the important political leaders, philosophers, theologians, scientists, lawyers, poets, and religious of the past.

Our college program is based on the Humanities as discerned in the great books of Western civilization and as seen through the eyes of the Christian humanist.

**THOMAS MORE INSTITUTE OF LIBERAL ARTS**

FOR CATALOGUE AND BROCHURE WRITE TO:

DR. PETER V. SAMPO
Thomas More Institute of Liberal Arts
One Manchester Street
Merrimack, N.H. 03054

PLEASE SEND ME INFORMATION ABOUT THIS PROGRAM

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY.....STATE.....ZIP.....

TELEPHONE.....




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## PAT BUCHANAN'S GUTSY WAY

*NEW YORK, MARCH 6*

PATRICK BUCHANAN, who is now the White House's Director of Communications, is all the more interesting for being difficult to know well. There are those who have known him off and on for twenty years (I am one) who would not claim to know him intimately; for all that, there is a great affinity in the public-policy positions to which we are committed. What he has done, in taking the White House job, illustrates the great range in the appeal of public office. Even to public office as an aide to a President. That isn't even public in one's own right. It is service to an individual.

It isn't widely know that sometime in the late Sixties, the nation's editors came slowly to a position about what they will and won't publish from public persons. The rule seemed to crystallize around the proposition that a person running for public office, or holding public office, does not qualify for newspaper syndication. This was a departure. When Senator Goldwater ran for the Republican nomination in 1964, he published his syndicated column, and continued to do so right through the campaign. When I ran for mayor of New York City in 1965, my column was regularly published in New York—though I took care not to devote any columns to the subject of the campaign itself. When Ronald Reagan announced that he would run for President, he instantly discontinued his regular syndicated radio broadcasts.

Now, someone running for President is running for very high stakes. Not so someone who holds down the job of Director of Communications. By accepting the invitation to serve in that job, Patrick Buchanan gave up a syndicated column growing in public recognition and gave up, also, two television programs, one of them shown nationwide several times a week, the second syndicated widely once a week. All of that is to give up a great deal in return for the White House job. Most people tend to measure these things in terms of cash-in-pocket. And there is no doubt that in receiving a civil servant's pay, Pat Buchanan is surrendering (I guess, but my guesses are informed) 75 per cent of his income. In terms of ergs of energy expended, it is hard to say whether, at night, he sleeps with greater repose for knowing there is no deadline he needs to meet tomorrow. Or whether the pressure of the White House job will keep him as harassed as ever he was by the pressures of the private sector.

But he has surrendered, at least temporarily, a hard-won beachhead on the public-opinion front. He will be speaking, now, to a half-dozen people every day, whereas yesterday he was addressing, every day, several million. The difference, of course, is that the half-dozen people he addresses he is instructing. Giving orders. Telling them what to do to further this or that presidential objective. Patrick Buchanan has shown that he is, temperamentally, an activist: notwithstanding that his expository powers are so highly developed. Richard Viguerie, the whiz direct-mail conservative and publisher of the *Conservative Digest*, feels similarly that his role in life is unconsummated: And so he announces that he will run for lieutenant-governor of Virginia.

One applauds such devotion to the public enterprise. While, at the same time, acknowledging that if everyone were to opt for the activist alternative, those huge reservoirs of analysis and evangelism would dry up, and it is these that nourish the thought of a self-ruling people.

It is a commonplace in America to suppose that one is not "involved" in politics, at least not seriously involved in politics, if one isn't engaged in public office, or in running for public office. This is, simply, not the case: The editorial page of the *Washington Post* is more influential by a long shot than the votes of fifty congressmen or twenty senators. Because editorial writers tend to persuade: both legislators directly and, indirectly, their constituents. So that one is as likely to speculate accurately on whether Star Wars will be financed by reading a dozen papers and listening to a dozen commentators, as one is by studying the records of the men and women who will actually cast the votes.

Patrick Buchanan is by nature and conviction a warrior. He has views he believes Ronald Reagan was elected President to transform into reality. The curious notion that his criticisms of the press disqualify him from serving as Communications Director is simpleminded. He will battle to see that the press tells the full story: because he is confident that, knowing the full story, the people will acquit themselves intelligently. Patrick Buchanan has done an exciting thing, and his friends and co-believers are proud and elated. □

©1985 Mal Ent. Inc.

## LAYING IT ON THE LINE

*NEW YORK, MARCH 8*

THE REACTION by the critics to the declarations of Mr. Reagan and Mr. Shultz suggests the continuing failure of the Eastern Seaboard liberal mentality to absorb the relevant priorities. A few observations:

1. It is tiresome and irrelevant to be reminded that other governments with which the United States has no immediate quarrel are authoritarian, and, in the case of China, totalitarian. For the hundredth time in this space, I recall the qualification made by Senator William Fulbright a dozen years ago, which is precisely relevant to current problems. He said, "The government of the United States has no quarrel with any country, however obnoxious its doctrines, so long as it does not seek to export them." Apply that rule, and you distinguish instantly between Nicaragua and Chile, or the Philippines, or—at least for the present—China.

2. It is true, as we are constantly reminded, that in 1948 at Bogotá we co-signed a declaration in which we pledged that "no state or group of states has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other state." But



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

what is the correct position of a signatory to the Bogotá Declaration in a situation in which a foreign power has precisely been responsible for such interference and, moreover, when the intentions of that foreign power are not merely to stop with the colonization of a single power in Central America, but to use that power as the base from which to continue to wage its generations-long war against the stability of neighboring states?

It cannot be plausibly contended that Nicaragua is a sovereign, independent state, governed by an indigenous military junta. Nicaragua is a geopolitical crisis point not because it has wrecked its economy, or tortured its citizens. But because what it has done is incoherent except to the extent that it is related to a grander enterprise than merely imposing totalitarian rule on its own citizens. It seeks, having done this, to aggrandize that tyranny, to extend it to El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala—and, inevitably, to the great, huge state of Mexico. If the umbilical cord between the Sandinistas and Cuba were cut, Nicaragua's power would wither away as fast as an untended plantation in the jungle. By the same token, if Cuba went a single year without the subventions of the Soviet Union, it would suddenly find itself worrying about food and shelter in Cuba, rather than about the need to export revolution to Angola.

3. It is tirelessly but correctly repeated that it is the object of statecraft to abort crisis. If the United States had acted promptly and decisively in 1960, or in 1961, there would not have been a missile crisis in 1962, nor the ensuing dissolution of the Monroe Doctrine. What Mr. Reagan and Mr. Shultz are attempting to do is to advise the American people that what is going on in Nicaragua at this moment is in all important respects akin to what was going on in Cuba during 1959-1962: the consolidation of a Soviet satellite in the Western Hemisphere. Why the American people?

Because, 4) Congress has turned its back on the one indigenous hope of the anti-Communist community in Nicaragua, namely, aid to the *Contras*. To turn up one's nose disdainfully when one refers to them as "freedom-fighters" is to be supercilious about the gravest secular human commitment, namely the dedication to maintaining one's sovereignty and one's personal freedom. It is infuriating to note that so many of the same people who fawningly admired the freedom-fighters who in Nicaragua armed themselves mutinously against the dictatorship of Somoza should be so condescending toward those who seek to do the same thing against the Sandinista government.

But the House of Representatives, in the Boland bill, and—it now appears—the Senate will join forces to refuse Mr. Reagan the funds with which to help the *Contras*, to which there is only one appropriate reaction.

It is: We are, as a constitutional republic, pledged to follow constitutional arrangements. A generation ago, President Franklin Roosevelt took a lot of short cuts with the Constitution in order to involve us in the struggle against Hitler, and we are extra-constitutionally grateful for his vision in the matter.

Today, Ronald Reagan is at the end of his line, in the matter of "covert action." He needs the help of Congress, and so he is talking to the American people and telling them what is at stake. If Nicaragua becomes another Cuba, it will not be because Ronald Reagan and George Shultz were out to lunch while it happened. □

# OUR TRIUMPH IN ZIMBABWE

*NEW YORK, MARCH 13*

NOT LONG AGO Lord Carrington, currently the Secretary General of NATO, was introduced before a distinguished audience as a diplomat whose crowning achievement was the midwifery of the state of Zimbabwe, which was called Rhodesia before the so-called Lancaster House Agreement of 1979. Really, to hail that agreement is on the order of hailing the achievements of the League of Nations. But the irony runs truly deep.

Recently, Bishop Muzorewa, the black Methodist clergyman who was for so many years the voice of black resistance to the regime of Ian Smith, called a press conference to denounce the leader of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe. For doing what? For—listen carefully—bringing on a "rule of terror worse than Amin's Uganda." To speak of "Amin's Uganda" is on the order of talking about Pol Pot's Cambodia, or Stalin's Russia. But there is one thing worse in the black lexicon, and Bishop Muzorewa did not flinch at the mention even of it: "We are now in an even worse situation than under the colonial regime, maybe worse than racist South Africa." Worse than racist South Africa!—coming from a highly respected black African leader. It is as if one were to hear from a Zionist leader a reference to a situation "worse than Hitler's Germany."

Two days later, British critic Stephen Glover, writing in the *Daily Telegraph* of the Lancaster House Agreement, entitled his column "A 'Triumph' of Which We Can All Feel Ashamed." Mr. Glover's words are the more searing for the matter-of-factness with which they are set down. "My not particularly far-sighted prediction is that [Robert Mugabe] will then [after next month's elections] declare a one-party state. The Lancaster House Agreement will be null and void."

How, asks Mr. Glover, did the British (and so many Americans) ever get away with proclaiming that agreement to be a diplomatic triumph? It was, he writes, as if "there had been no tribal war in Biafra." As if "in Kenya, Zambia, Nigeria, Uganda, and Ghana multi-party systems still flourished."

Comes, then, the supreme irony. The slaughters going on in Zimbabwe are not of whites, but of blacks. The white men are left alone, even as in Kenya they are left alone. Having no political power, they are no longer of interest to the black one-party rulers. So that—as is happening in the Sudan, and in Ethiopia—the ravages of famine and persecution are substantially at the expense of blacks. And that, Mr. Glover notes, leaves us relatively serene. "Of course no one likes to hear of the massacres of blacks. But they can be borne as unavoidable manifestations of the heart of darkness."

The drama of South Africa simply has to be seen in the light of the African experience. Whereas in Rhodesia a mere 3 or 4 per cent of the population was white, in South Africa the figure is more nearly 16 per cent. The whites there—assuming they were left, after Bishop Tutu brings on his revolution, as powerless as whites are in Zimbabwe—might or might not be left alone. They are probably too wealthy simply to be ignored. They look about the continent of Africa and recognize that multi-party constitutional governments are not—yet—in the African tradition. This does not excuse apartheid, but helps to account for it: just as one might say that the Treaty of Versailles did not excuse Hitler, but helped to account for Hitler. But the least that we can do is to recognize the complexity of the problem and to remind ourselves that we are not supposed to be indifferent to blacks slaughtering blacks. Well, is there anything we can do about it?

Mr. Glover has no ideas, neither does Lord Carrington, if you hold his foot to the flame. One retrospective sunburst is that perhaps things would have been better if Mr. Rhodes had left Rhodesia alone. But is even that true? The English have left a great mess in Africa, but would it have been any less messy if they had never got in there to begin with? We do not know, but can agree with Mr. Glover when he writes, "The Lancaster House Agreement was, like its predecessors which affected to provide secure constitutional arrangements for African peoples, deeply fraudulent. The British government pretended to bestow something which was not in its gift and it did so in a vainglorious manner which in retrospect should cause us all to feel shame." □

*(Universal Press Syndicate)*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

## Employment Opportunities

CARTOONIST WANTED to hold clerical, judicial, limousine-liberal feet to fire. Write NR Box 4032.

## Situations Wanted

STRONG, HARD-WORKING, EXPERIENCED river fisherman looking for job in ocean/river commercial fishing. References. Write NR Box 4052.

---

CONSERVATIVE CATHOLIC CANADIAN male, 27, B.A., LL.B., new member of Ontario bar, seeks challenging, creative alternative to practicing law and shoveling snow. Superior writing, public-speaking skills, incurable political animal, will only bite liberals. Write NR Box 4053.

---

PROFESSIONAL SALES POSITION DESIRED. Man, 37, recently sold small business, enjoys travel, will work anywhere. Fast learner. Has second residence in New Jersey. Send replies to Box 544, Boynton Beach, Fla. 33425.

---

B.A. POLITICAL SCIENCE/ECONOMICS, J.D., excellent research/writing skills, '84 campaign experience, once trade-association intern. Seeking challenging position with conservative PAC, think-tank, trade association, or on Hill. Will send resume. Write NR Box 4049.

---

MAN, 38, retiring from NYC Police Department. Doctorate in public administration. Published. Taught. Mensan, seeks thinking position. NYC. Write NR Box 4034.

---

ATTORNEY, SUCCESSFUL, MATURE, former judge, Ivy League-educated, diversified experience, seeks to devote himself to service of conservative public-interest law firm, foundation, organization. Write NR Box 4033.

---

CONSERVATIVE CHRISTIAN LAW STUDENT with B.S. in accounting seeks summer position. Write for resume. T.G., 9600 East 25th Terrace, Independence, Mo. 64052.

---

M.A. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. Knowledge of defense issues. Seeking career in business, government. Will research, analyze, write. Write NR Box 4031.

---

INDUSTRIAL SALES REPRESENTATIVE seeks lines for Kentucky area. Commission basis only. Will consider any outstanding products. Write NR Box 4050.

---

SENIOR CORPORATE COUNSEL with establishment credentials seeks change. Responsible position with conservative organization or law firm desired. Write NR Box 4016.

## Literary

FINE USED BOOKS. Many first editions, general modern fiction (from Cheever through Mano, Updike, Tom Wolfe) with some emphasis on detective/suspense/espionage, including Chandler, Macdonald, MacDonald, etc.; even some sports. Write for free: List E, P.O. Box 609, Mundelein, Ill. 60060.

---

*A CHRISTIAN VIEW of Men and Things* by Dr. Gordon H. Clark. Clark is "one of the most profound evangelical Protestant philosophers of our time," says Dr. Carl F. H. Henry. Professor Ronald Nash calls Clark "one of the major Christian thinkers of our century." You cannot afford to miss this brilliant analysis of the secular world view. Send $8.95 to The Trinity Foundation, P.O. Box 169, Jefferson, Md. 21755.

---

STEPHEN SONDHEIM READS *VERBATIM, The Language Quarterly*, why don't you? For a year's subscription write Box 668DN, Essex, Conn. 06426.

## Services

INFORMATION TO GO! Computer searching of over 600 databases for business, science, education, law, medicine. Providing full text, bibliographic, source material from news media, wire services, journals, newsletters, government sources. Student discount. Call or write FACTS ONLINE, 3604 Bel Pre Road, No. 32, Silver Spring, Md. 20906. 301-460-1546.

## Real Estate

STONE COTTAGE by the sea in southern Ireland with 1.5 acres. Sleeps 3. Fully furnished. 2 fireplaces. Suitable for writer or retired couple. Low-priced for quick sale. Call England 01-876-2914 or write NR Box 4051.

## Gourmet

PECAN PIE RECIPE. The best! Send $2 to B. J. Pretz, 3029 Puckett Road, Kansas City, Kan. 66103.

## Wanted

FORD MOTOR BADGES, pins, postcards, books, etc. Also dime-store toy soldiers from 1930s and 1940s. Write NR Box 4054.

LIBERTY MAGAZINES. Give date and asking price. Joe Mauldin, 808 Savannah, Bedford, Tex. 76022. 817-267-8514.

## Vacation

CAPE COD. Back to basics: hospitality, comfort, and off the beaten path. 40 charming B&Bs. Write Orleans Bed & Breakfast Associates, Box 1312NR, Orleans, Mass. 02653. 617-255-3824. Brochure.

---

BEACHFRONT—1,600-square-foot, two-bedroom, two-bath condo facing Gulf of Mexico, Destin, Fla. Adjacent to secluded Henderson Beach Park. Cathedral ceiling, fireplace, Jenn-Aire, screened porch, breakers at your feet. Call 615-373-2423 or 615-373-1119.

---

JOIN US for 3- to 6-day wilderness white-water expeditions on the Main Salmon and Snake (Hell's Canyon) Rivers of Idaho. Excitement, fun, getaway relaxation, great beaches, food, and rapids. Brochure, 208-628-3264; Salmon River Challenge, C7 River Road, Riggins, Idaho 83549.

---

FRIPP ISLAND: Beautiful South Carolina 2-story beach home. From 180° winding porch, view ocean and 18th green. 3 bedrooms up. Kitchenette, 2 bedrooms down. Luxurious. Cared for like home. Bay connects Hilton Head. Weekly rates. Call 201-337-9035.

## Educational Opportunities

CATHOLIC LIBERAL EDUCATION. Thomas Aquinas College offers serious intellectual discipline and a close-knit community of students and teachers. Classics from Aristotle to Einstein replace textbooks; classroom discussions replace lectures; elective system replaced by an integrated, comprehensive study of mathematics, experimental science, language, music, history, literature, philosophy, and theology. Classes do not exceed 20 students. Financial-aid program. Applications from students with previous college studies encouraged. Endorsed by M. Stanton Evans, Russell Kirk, Malcolm Muggeridge. Accredited by Western Association of Schools and Colleges. For information write to: Director of Admissions-NR, Thomas Aquinas College, 10000 North Ojai Road, Santa Paula, Calif. 93060; or call 805-525-4417.

## National Review Accepts . . .

**classified advertisements for personal services, items wanted or for sale, jobs sought or available, houses or apartments for sale or rent, and miscellaneous subjects of a comparable nature. National Review does not accept political advertisements of any kind, or advertisements which are solicitations for funds. National Review reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason. Rates per insertion: $1.00 per word, minimum 10 words, plus $2.25 for box number. Frequency discounts: 4 times, 90¢ per word; 6 times, 85¢ per word; 8 times or more, 80¢ per word. Text accompanied by full payment must be received 35 days before cover date. Responses to box numbers will be forwarded. Address Classified Director, National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York, New York 10016.**

## Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

*Coolidge's Inaugural Address*

The collection of taxes which are not absolutely required, which do not beyond reasonable doubt contribute to the public welfare, is only a species of legalized larceny. Under this Republic the rewards of industry belong to those who earn them.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AUCTION COLLEGE—Make $100-$1,000 a day. Only auction school endorsed and actively advised by Colonel Joe Reisch. American Auction College, Box 1069, Dept. E-1, Mason City, Iowa 50401. Telephone 515-424-1148.

BACHELOR'S, MASTER'S, DOCTORATE. Guide to colleges offering non-residential degree programs through independent home study. Accredited, economical, accelerated programs. Credit given for prior accomplishments and work experience. Free detailed brochure. Write: Dr. John Bear, P.O. Box 11447-NR1, Marina del Rey, Calif. 90295.

## For Sale

PRESIDENTIAL POLITICAL BUTTONS. $1 for mailing list. 9836 Valley Meadow Court, Dallas, Tex. 75220.

1,000,000 VIDEOTAPES/SOUNDTRACKS! Catalogue: $1. RTS-NR, Box 1829, Novato, Calif. 94948.

## Personal

**(NR extends maximum freedom in this column, but NR's maximum freedom may be another man's straitjacket. NR reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable. —Pub.)**

SOUTHWESTERN OHIO male, 33, Catholic, professional, enjoys outdoor sports, especially bicycling and skiing. Also enjoys travel, cooking, reading, and The Boss. Seeks warm, attractive, good-humored lady with similar interests. Send photo. Write NR Box 4042.

LOS ANGELES attractive, intelligent single white woman, 27, professional, mature, wealthy. Enjoys theater, movies, politics, fine restaurants. Seeks man, 30-58, with similar interests. Write NR Box 4043.

TALL 29-YEAR-OLD businessman enjoys dogs, old guitars, music, backpacking, food, reading, NPR, travel, *American Spectator*; hates Volvos with preposterous bumper stickers; seeks like-minded Anglican woman in the Boston/Cambridge area. Write NR Box 4056.

HAPPY CATHOLIC MAN, 32, interested in dancing, travel, Chesterton, Muggeridge, Gilder. Ready for wife and family. Inquiries to #5, 908 Fifth Street, Santa Monica, Calif. 90403.

ATTRACTIVE WIDOW, 56, appreciates good humor, intelligence, and traditional values. Likes dancing, dining out, difficult acrostics, dry Manhattans. Et vous? Write NR Box 4057.

TWO PROFESSIONAL GENTLEMEN, 30s, very traditional values, who enjoy skiing, outdoor activities, travel, and the occasional culinary experiment. Seek ladies of similar perspective. Send snapshot. Write NR Box 4059.

GENTEEL, BLUE-EYED ROMANTIC, 52, wants to share talks, walks, theater, and humor with caring gentleman. Boston area. Write NR Box 4058.

INTELLIGENT, ATHLETIC (tenhocbaskbbasbfoobgo-etc.) man, 32, desires like woman for companion to stray with into amaranthine fields. If you love Russell Kirk's *A Creature of the Twilight*, best be prepared for a romance. Write NR Box 4037.

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS' EXCHANGE. Nationwide link between unattached music lovers. Write CMLE, Box 31, Pelham, N.Y. 10803.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS gets the cultured single, widowed, or divorced acquainted. Nationwide. Established 1970—3,000 members. Box AE, Swarthmore, Pa. 19081. 215-566-2132.

AN INTELLIGENT WAY to meet others. For hobbies, sports, correspondence, friendship, vacations, use our Exchange to contact others nearby or worldwide. Electronic Exchange, P.O. Box 68-N1, Manhattan Beach, Calif. 90266.

LONELY?? SOUL*MATES is an intelligent answer! Correspond with astrologically compatible singles. Details $1. Box R-171263, Memphis, Tenn. 38187-1263.

SOPHISTICATED SCANDINAVIANS seek enlightened correspondence and lasting relationships. Details: Scanna-NR, Box 4, Pittsford, N.Y. 14534.

## Miscellaneous

A COUPLE OF EX-G.I.s (South Pacific WW II) have produced a clean, illustrated fantasy of that era and now seek a publisher. All replies (we hope) to NR Box 4055.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS IN DEPTH. Send full page of writing and $20 to Elisabeth King, 121 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016.

CATHOLIC? CONSERVATIVE? If you are Catholic and conservative, between the ages of 18 and 45, you should be part of our national network of Catholic activists. We are making a difference! Send a short bio and address to: Joan E. Donohue, P.O. Box 76742, Washington, D.C. 20013-6742. Do it today!

"REALIZATION REALIZATION REALIZATION" means idea actualization and sale. Realization$_1$ refers to an idea. Realization$_2$ refers to actualization. The actualization of an idea is the realization$_2$ of a realization$_1$. Anything conceived and then achieved is a realization$_1$ that has been realized$_2$. Variations on this theme are legion: a promise kept, a goal achieved, an ideal attained, a mission accomplished, a prophecy fulfilled, a dream come true. The possibilities are endless. If the actualized idea is now sold, then that is realization$_3$ (conversion into money). Free information: Adam Harris Abelow, 49 Deepdale, Great Neck, N.Y. 11021.

FREE BROWN SCAPULAR and explanation of its benefits to those who wear it, as told by the Mother of God. Send S.A.S.E. to Box 3057, Casper, Wyo. 82602.

INVENTIONS, IDEAS, new products wanted for presentation to industry and exhibition at national innovation exposition. Call 800-528-6050. In Arizona call 800-352-0458, ext. 831.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS. For personal report send sample, age, and $25 to Alice Charlesworth, Box 41, Forest Park, Dayton, Ohio 45405.


## Subscription Service

**TO SUBSCRIBE OR RENEW:**

☐ New subscription
☐ Renewal

☐ Payment enclosed
☐ Bill me

*Initial here* _____

☐ 1 year $34.00 (U.S.A.)

☐ 1 year $40.25, U.S. currency (Canada and all other foreign)

**CHANGE OF ADDRESS AND RENEWAL:**

Please attach the mailing label from the front cover when writing about service or change of address. Allow 3 weeks for change of address to take effect. Thank you.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

**MAIL TO:** National Review, Readers Service, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

# NR CLASSIFIED ADS

**Rates:** $1.00 per word $2.25 for NR box number

## SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER!

*Pay for two ads—get a third ad FREE. Advance payment (minimum 2 ads)*

**Enclosed $** _____
*Mail to:*
Classified Director
**National Review**
150 East 35th Street
New York, N.Y. 10016

AD COPY:




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# TRANS-O-GRAM / KEM PUTNEY

## DEFINITIONS

A. Professional grave robber? 11 122 107 93 37 147 80 69 155 50 / 188 169

B. Subdivided consequences 73 18 60 141 102 160 3 184 43 136 / 151 29 87

C. This man is of great interest to Word A 162 20 121 48 32 108 187 81 4 143 / 64

D. "Will _____ neglect to save the suffering virtue of the wise and brave?"—Pope 186 95 138 66 15 161 88 172 129 165 / 53

E. Man from Nicaragua (2 words) 118 38 166 46 152 98 6 26 112 139 / 182 59 83

F. The Democrats had millions of these last November 84 40 148 96 142 24 123 179 68 158

G. Game played with battledores 167 65 30 1 119 173 51 89 150

H. Habitat of the diseased Dutch? (2 words) 168 45 55 19 174 70 157 85 105

I. Income source of great concern to the IRS 181 13 116 146 33 77 135 92

J. Wily 99 82 47 125 23 109 137

K. Those without (hyph.) 58 14 78 176 67 101 132 39

L. Sousa favorites 128 28 2 145 52 171 159

M. Chair part 34 131 71 56 17 127 114

N. One's stomping grounds 97 49 12 154 133 61 130 86 175 75 / 104 21

O. Polonius's daughter 90 16 106 62 10 126 44

P. Massachusetts port city (2 words) 144 79 170 7 134 180 31 115 63 91

Q. Belgian site of frequent WW I action 113 36 9 100 76

R. Lures 153 177 110 27 149 57 120 42

S. Direction rejected by the voters last November 25 94 140 183 178 5 54 41

T. Roofing material (2 words) 185 124 156 35 117 163 8 72

U. 1964 Republican presidential candidate, chemically speaking 164 111 22 103 74

## DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 64 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ■ | ■ | ■ | 1 G | 2 L | ■ | 3 B | 4 C | 5 S | 6 E | 7 P | 8 T | 9 Q | 10 O | 11 A | 12 N |
| 13 I | ■ | 14 K | 15 D | 16 O | 17 M | 18 B | 19 H | 20 C | 21 N | ■ | 22 U | 23 J | 24 F | 25 S | 26 E |
| 27 R | ■ | 28 L | 29 B | 30 G | ■ | 31 P | 32 C | 33 I | ■ | 34 M | 35 T | 36 Q | 37 A | 38 E | 39 K |
| 40 F | 41 S | ■ | 42 R | 43 B | 44 O | 45 H | 46 E | 47 J | ■ | 48 C | 49 N | 50 A | 51 G | 52 L | 53 D |
| 54 S | ■ | 55 H | 56 M | ■ | 57 R | 58 K | 59 E | 60 B | 61 N | 62 O | 63 P | 64 C | 65 G | 66 D | 67 K |
| ■ | 68 F | 69 A | 70 H | ■ | 71 M | 72 T | ■ | 73 B | 74 U | 75 N | 76 Q | 77 I | 78 K | 79 P | 80 A |
| 81 C | ■ | 82 J | 83 E | 84 F | 85 H | 86 N | 87 B | 88 D | 89 G | 90 O | 91 P | ■ | 92 I | 93 A | 94 S |
| ■ | 95 D | 96 F | 97 N | 98 E | 99 J | 100Q | ■ | 101K | 102B | ■ | 103U | 104N | 105H | 106O | 107A |
| 108C | 109J | 110R | 111U | 112E | 113Q | ■ | 114M | 115P | 116I | 117T | 118E | 119G | 120R | 121C | 122A |
| 123F | 124T | 125J | 126O | 127M | 128L | ■ | 129D | 130N | 131M | ■ | 132K | 133N | 134P | ■ | 135I |
| 136B | 137J | 138D | 139E | 140S | 141B | 142F | 143C | 144P | 145L | 146I | ■ | 147A | 148F | ■ | 149R |
| ■ | 150G | 151B | 152E | 153R | 154N | 155A | 156T | 157H | 158F | 159L | 160B | 161D | 162C | ■ | 163T |
| 164U | 165D | 166E | ■ | 167G | 168H | 169A | 170P | 171L | 172D | 173G | ■ | 174H | 175N | 176K | ■ |
| 177R | 178S | 179F | ■ | 180P | 181I | 182E | 183S | 184B | 185T | 186D | 187C | 188A | ■ | ■ | ■ |



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Shattering old ideas about safety.

The energy-absorbing steering column, multi-beam headlamps, side-guard door beams and windshield safety glass were GM-pioneered.

Today, we're working to develop new ways to build-in safety.

Our latest effort: the GM "Inner Shield" windshield. It's in limited production now. It's a flexible, two-part plastic layer that's applied to the windshield's inner surface to help protect you against facial cuts and lacerations from broken glass.

Exclusively GM, it's just one more way we are helping to protect the most important part of our cars: You and your passengers.

We believe in taking the extra time, giving the extra effort and paying attention to every detail. That's what it takes to provide the quality that leads more people to buy GM cars and trucks than any other kind.

That's the GM commitment to excellence.

GM

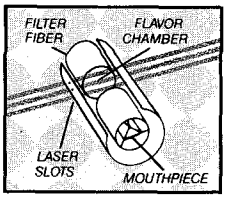
## Nobody sweats the details like GM.

Chevrolet • Pontiac • Oldsmobile • Buick • Cadillac • GMC Truck

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

© Lorillard, U.S.A., 1984

# 100's Taste Breakthrough!




## True Laser-Cut "Flavor Chamber" Filter Unleashes Exceptional Taste

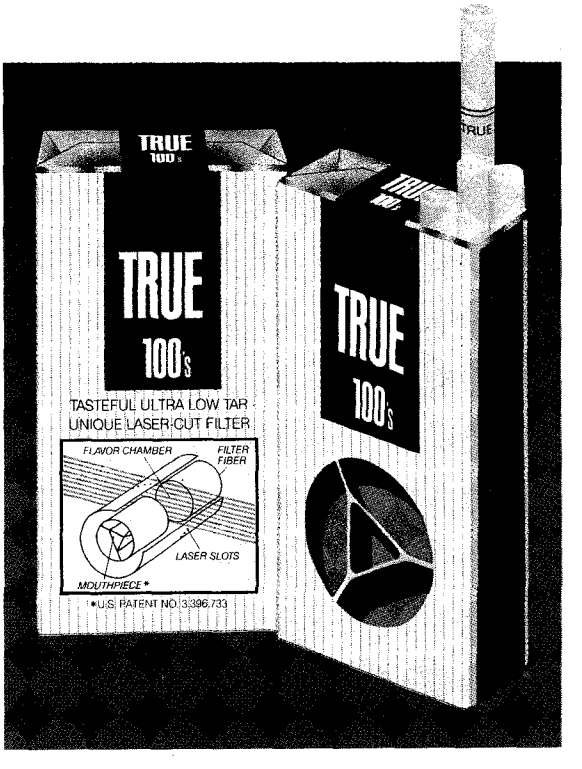
**Challenges Higher Tar Brands.** Today's True 100's deliver unexpected taste from ultra low tar. A richer taste. A fuller taste. A taste you wouldn't expect from one of the lowest tar 100's you can buy.

*This True We Like.*

**True Exclusive.** No other cigarette has the True Laser-Cut "Flavor Chamber" Filter. An advanced filtration system that delivers a flavor-rich tobacco experience at True 100's ultra low tar!

**Longer Lasting Enjoyment.** Today's True 100's are packed with extra tobacco for longer lasting smoking enjoyment. Noticeably longer.

**Can Your 100's Measure Up?**
Test True 100's against the only taste that counts. Yours.




BREAKTHROUGH

# True 100's

8 mg. "tar", 0.8 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC Method.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED